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BALDOMERO LILLO

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AND THE CHILEAN SOCIETY OF THE 1900s

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by

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*Thesis submitted for the degree of*

*Master of Letters*

*at the*

*University of Glasgow*

*Faculty of Arts. Department of Hispanic Studies*

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## A B S T R A C T

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Although not renowned for a prolific literary career, Baldomero Lillo is a Chilean short story writer whose work has been the subject of passionate controversy. Such a controversy, however, has not been helpful in providing a true assessment of Lillo's role within Latin American literature but, on the contrary, it has greatly obscured the real issues that lay behind a writer and his work during the crucial period of transition at the turn of the nineteenth century in Chile. This study focuses upon the literary analysis of Lillo's work against two interrelated historical backgrounds. The first relates to the way in which contemporary tendencies such as Realism, Naturalism and Modernismo influenced Lillo's short stories, and the second examines the impact of Lillo's own society upon his work.

Chapter I examines the way in which Realism, Naturalism and Modernismo developed in Latin America permeating the literary production of Chilean writers in whose number Lillo was also counted. The second chapter provides a biographical sketch of the man and gives a general overview of his short stories. It represents an attempt to classify Lillo's 47 stories into four thematic categories in order to prepare the groundwork for the following chapter in which the stories are analysed according to their structure. This third chapter discusses in a more detailed way those literary tendencies examined in the first chapter and their specific impact on Lillo's work. Our research shows that although these tendencies had some bearing upon Lillo's work,

there was another perhaps stronger influence that emerged from the rich popular culture of Chile's mines, farms and emergent cities, a reality of which Lillo had first hand experience.

Chapter four represents an innovative attempt in the analysis of Lillo's work. His short stories are studied against the background of the social and economic changes taking place in Chile during Lillo's times. Examined in its historical context, Lillo's work represents a portrayal of social classes in acute conflict, the transition of a traditional society towards a complex capitalist structure with the natural emergence of social protest.

The present study provides also three appendices which are considered necessary to facilitate further research on Lillo's short stories, a long neglected topic in the literary history of both Chilean and Latin American literature. Appendix I provides a complete list of Lillo's works arranged in chronological sequence; Appendix II gives a glossary of popular terms found in the short stories studied and Appendix III is a set of photographs of the Lota coal mines at the turn of the century, so close to the life and work of Baldomero Lillo.

## INTRODUCTION

=====

In the general context of world literature the mention of Baldomero Lillo does not evoke - even in the minds of the most alert and illustrious critics - an image of a writer whose work might merit an in-depth analysis. Indeed, even in the Latin American context the few critics aware of Lillo's existence would only agree to treat him as a writer of minor stature. Lillo's compatriots themselves have at times passed harsh judgments on the relevance of his writing. In their view, Lillo was a frustrated man; a drop-out from secondary school who did not begin to write until his mature years. His chronic illness and early death allowed him to write only a few short stories the merit of which, according to many critics, is highly debatable. For Antonio de Undurraga, for instance, Lillo is but a writer "poor in style and lacking in imagination".(1) Mariano Latorre also considered Lillo's style to be "of primitive poverty" to such an extent that Lillo could not properly be called a writer.(2) Miguel Serrano, making a distinction between "cuentistas verdaderos" and "simples narradores" concludes that Lillo cannot be more than a story-teller without the virtues of a real writer.(3) Similar opinions were also expressed by writers and critics like Augusto D'Halmar, Mario Osses and Hernán Díaz Arrieta.(4) The only point of agreement among these critics is that Lillo's writings represent the plight of the humble at the turn of the century. But even then, some writers would add, Lillo's writings do not represent a truthful depiction of the

life and works of the miners, fishermen, peasants, Indians and the poor in general. Early critics like Matilde Brandau cast doubts on the plausibility of Lillo's representation of life in the coal mines. On the publication of Subterra, Lillo's first collection of short stories which appeared in 1904, Brandau declared: "creemos que no todo ha de ser desgracia horrenda en la vida del minero, no todo lamento o blasfemia en sus labios". Even more, she complained, the absence of Catholicism in the life of Lillo's miners was utterly unacceptable.(5) Pedro Nolasco, another contemporary critic, could not believe that bosses in the mines could behave in the cruel manner portrayed in Lillo's stories. "No es creíble" - claimed Nolasco - "que en una época civilizada haya patrones inhumanos con trabajadores de conducta ejemplar; inhumanidad que tendría que ser contraproducente."(6)

On the other hand, although in reduced numbers, there are critics who have created a counterpoint to the "black legend" against Lillo by swinging the pendulum towards the other extreme. "Gracias poeta" - exclaimed Pérez Kellenz - "por el ardiente soplo de arte sincero que nos has traído."(7) Others, motivated by the hopes of social emancipation, also praised Lillo's work which they considered to signal the dawn of a new and more just society to replace the implacable capitalism that had seized the country.(8) Right from the first publication of Subterra in 1904, Lillo was adopted politically by all leftist intellectuals in Chile as the first writer to have made the people his subject-matter. "Lillo" - said González Vera - "fue levantado como bandera por el socialismo incipiente que dominaba

entonces."(9)

Between the simplistic diatribes of some and the complacent praise of others lies the real Lillo, never ignored completely but still almost unknown in his role as a writer. Glimpses of the relevance of Lillo's work sometimes emerge from isolated facts rather than from deep-seated critical discussions. Take the case of the latest editions of his works. In 1970, with the advent of the Popular Unity government in Chile, the workers of a large and nearly bankrupt publishing company took over the enterprise and rescued it with the assistance of the new government. A new company - called Quimantú - was organised in which typesetters, cleaners, designers and writers had, for the first time, the opportunity to run a publishing concern. The publishing policy adopted was quite simple: they decided to publish books in massive editions at prices that were within the reach of miners, peasants and all those sections of the Chilean reading public for so long deprived of access to the published word. One of the series planned was the "Colección Minilibros" and the first title chosen for massive promotion was a collection of Lillo's short stories entitled El Chiflón del Diablo y otros Cuentos. The success of the series amazed the editors. The 50,000 copies of the edition were out of print by the end of the first week. An average of more than 7000 copies were sold daily and the customers were "the thousands of workers at the mines and the farms, those who heretofore never had access to the words of this man in which they were all so limpidly reflected."(10) This publication was one of many that, after the military coup in

Chile in 1973, was considered to be subversive of Western and Christian values. The editors, workers and writers of Quimantú were sent either to concentration camps or to exile.

Two years after the coup, when the military were well entrenched in power, another publisher in Chile dared to publish again another collection of Lillo's stories. It was a limited edition of Subterra published by Editorial Nascimento in 1975; to the surprise of many, it was neither censored nor banned by the ruling authorities. Having sold out the edition, the Editorial Andrés Bello reprinted the work in 1978 and one writer noticed that the text of one of Lillo's stories in the edition - "Los Inválidos" - has been altered. It was the passage where an old traction horse used in a coal mine is lifted to the surface. Blinded by the daylight, the horse is released into the fields where, too old to feed itself, it would face slow death. The miners watch the scene and one of them, referring to the horse, comments:

"pobre viejo, te echan porque ya no sirves. Lo mismo nos pasa a todos. Allí abajo no se hace distinción entre hombre y bestia. Agotadas las fuerzas, la mina nos arroja como la araña arroja fuera de su tela el cuerpo exangüe de la mosca que le sirvió de alimento. ¡Camaradas, este bruto es la imagen de nuestra vida! Como él, nuestro destino será, siempre, trabajar, padecer y morir."

In the 1975 edition of Subterra (reprinted in 1978) the writer Andrés Sabella noticed that the last part of the above passage had been altered to read: " ¡Camaradas, este bruto es la imagen de nuestra vida! Como él callamos sufriendo resignados

nuestro destino." Sabella claimed that the alteration of the text amounted to an extreme lack of respect towards the author and that surely, it had been adulterated in order to preserve "social peace". "We protest in the name of Chilean literature" - declared Sabella - "because it has always been an example of conscience but never one of complacency." (11) Sabella's protest was warmly supported by the Association of Chilean Writers; it then developed into a polemic in which almost all Chilean newspapers and periodicals became involved. (12) There was little substance in this polemic and the alleged adulteration of Lillo's text was only one of the versions of Subterra that Lillo himself had amended in its second edition. Nevertheless, the incident shows the impact of Lillo's writings even more than five decades after his death.

Why should Lillo still be so controversial today, in Chile's restricted literary world under a military junta? Perhaps it is because in the 1970s and 1980s Chile under military rule resembles the toilsome years of the turn of the century when Lillo wrote his stories. Miners, peasants, urban workers and progressive intellectuals then found in Lillo the embryo of a prose that voiced the protests of the oppressed; today, in similar conditions of oppression, his writings have again acquired the character of a veiled protest.

How, on the other hand, can we be sure of Lillo's literary merit? Is he not a mere political instrument attacked by some and praised by others simply according to the critics' respective political persuasion? What is the background for Lillo's



pioneering writings on social subjects? Was he simply a follower of Zola? All these questions require a detailed analysis of Lillo's writings in order to determine the way in which the literary trends prevailing in Europe influenced his work and also to find out what was specifically new in his literary creation. More importantly, Lillo needs to be analysed in the light of his own historical background because, if anything, his work represents a remarkable relationship between a writer and his environment. As an alert witness of his time, Lillo's short stories reflect those convulsive years of transition in a dependent society and shows, for the first time, the real life of the humble and the poor. By being both "espejo y mensajero de su tiempo" - as González Vera called him - Lillo shows the true nature of life in a conflictive society and proves that "fiction" can also provide evidence of real life during those troubled years at the turn of the century.

## CHAPTER I

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### BALDOMERO LILLO AND THE CULTURAL PANORAMA OF THE 1900s

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#### INTRODUCTION

What is the relationship between a writer and his own circumstance? To what extent can an intellectual free himself from his surrounding real world, from contemporary and past events? It is perhaps unavoidable to begin our work with a succinct account of the cultural world from which Baldomero Lillo emerged. As an introductory chapter, the emphasis here is put upon Chile's cultural background from the last third of the nineteenth century to the 1900s. The concept of "cultural background" is used in a broad sense which goes beyond the analysis of purely literary movements such as Realism, Naturalism and Modernismo to include also some elements of popular culture - folklore and folktales - which are very important for an understanding of Lillo's literary work. This chapter is intended to enunciate many aspects of the relationship between Chile's cultural life and Lillo's work; the most relevant elements in that relationship are discussed at greater length in subsequent chapters.

For most of the nineteenth century, cultural life, as it is commonly conceived, was the patrimony of very select and aristocratic circles which, in Chile, moved at the rhythm dictated by European trends and models. Although this elitist pattern was not altered completely, it is of interest to note

that, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, European literature itself was undergoing a significant transformation whereby new literary tendencies became more aware of the emergent rural and urban masses who had not previously been the main inhabitants in the world of literary creation. This is obviously a reference to Realism and Naturalism which, as in previous times, were among the varied commodities imported by wealthier and more educated people into Chile. As had happened in Europe, the writer looked into his own reality searching for themes suitable for such developed new interests and new tendencies.

At the turn of the century in Chile the old and traditional rural structure was substantially altered by the emergence of a nascent industrial sector, a process of urbanization, a dependent relationship with international markets and the appearance of new social classes which revealed to politicians and intellectuals, the existence of a "social question". It is, therefore, not surprising that the new literary tendencies found so fertile a ground among Chilean writers.

The impact of European Realist and Naturalist writers was far greater than that of the earlier Neoclassicism and Romanticism. This was because the new writers were no longer read only by a narrow aristocratic circle but also by new middle sectors which were increasingly gaining access to a previously restricted cultural life.(1) Such writers were in a better position to become aware of the acute social problems surrounding them and rediscover their native scenery, hitherto hidden under the false and idyllic descriptions evinced by the Romantic

writers.

Between 1891, the year of the Civil War, and the post-First World War crisis, the Chilean economy and society underwent dramatic changes whose main manifestation was the emergence of an increasingly conscious proletariat anxious to put into practice the new socialist and anarchist ideas which had also been imported from Europe.(2)

The fact that literature was abandoning the restrictive bounds of aristocratic circles is apparent in the activities of those groups which were successful in breaking those privileges and in gaining access to the field of literary discussion and creation, producing magazines and reviews in which the new ideas were disseminated. For instance, one such group was formed by students who, by the late 1890s, organised themselves into their own Ateneo which they opened to a much wider audience. (There had been another Ateneo which was an exclusive literary club for aristocrats.)

The new Ateneo not only changed the character of its audiences but also the topics for discussion. Its early sessions were crowded with an enthusiastic public made up of students and young intellectuals. Although the declared aim of the Ateneo was "the advancement of the Sciences and 'Belles Lettres'", these young intellectuals grew increasingly aware of contemporary social conflict and began to frequent those centres and institutions where workers were developing methods of mutual aid and organised protest.(3) In other words, they became witnesses

of those changes in working and living conditions affecting their people and this profound concern found its way into their own literary creation. As stated by Fein, soon after its creation, the Ateneo "heard poets and novelists promulgating a new humanitarian creed".(4)

This changing literary mood was not wholeheartedly acclaimed by some members of the public who attended the sessions of the Ateneo, and many of the words uttered within the crumbling walls of the old building housing the Ateneo were anathema to many of those who had been brought up in a closed world of artificial social harmony. Samuel Lillo, Baldomero's elder brother and one of the founders of the Ateneo, reminisced as follows in his memoirs:- "

"... no todo el público ... simpatizaba con las tendencias renovadoras de la juventud del Ateneo... Eran tiempos en que se leían a escondidas a los escritores naturalistas y se encandalizaba la gente cuando veía pasar con rumbo a la universidad a las primeras estudiantas de Derecho y de Pedagogía."(5)

Another manifestation was the opening of the Universidad Popular in 1900 to which workers were admitted to continue their education. For the first time intellectuals and manual workers came together and shared a common social concern, permeated with socialist and anarchist ideas.(6)

The new movement represented a certain democratization of literary life in Chile but it was still restricted to a minority of the population. The bulk of the rural and urban masses, 80 percent of whom were illiterate, remained outside these new

developments and continued their anonymous struggle for survival, untouched by exotic ideas called "naturalism", "realism", "socialism" or "anarchism". They had, however, their ancestral culture built upon the legacy of Spanish conquistadores and Indian traditions.

#### 1. REALISM IN CHILE

Realism developed in Europe around the 1850s and reached Latin America by the end of the nineteenth century. The tools of a Realist writer, as stated by Stern, were "language, life and the forms of art at a certain time in the continuum of history... (the Realist writer) is the son of his time, his work is his time caught in words, which are also the words of his contemporaries."(7)

During the second half of the nineteenth century Romanticism and Realism were the literary tendencies developed in Latin America.(8) In Chile the main Realist writer of the time was Alberto Blest Gana whose work mixed elements of critical Realism and Romanticism. At the end of the century the expansion of intercontinental communications allowed the arrival in the country of the recent works of European writers such as Benito Pérez Galdós, Emilia Pardo Bazán, Zola, Balzac, Dickens, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Dostoevsky, De Maupassant and, by the turn of the century, the works of Gorky, exponent of the socialist Realism that was developing in Europe.(9)

The reading and discussion of those works in literary circles helped Chilean writers to seek out new themes in their

own country.(10) Many writers, noticing the social unrest that was beginning to spread began, out of a sense of social service, to frequent workers' centres (mutual aid societies) where they met social democrats, free thinkers, Utopian socialists, marxists and Anarchists. In these centres there were small libraries with books by Proudhon, Saint Simon, Blanqui, Bakunin, Kropotkin, etc.(11)

The Realism which developed in Chile during the first decade of the twentieth century mingled critical Realism, French Naturalism (closer to the realism of Emilia Pardo Bazán or the last stage of Benito Pérez Galdós's writings, from 1880 onwards) and a new humanism which marks Lillo's short stories and the poetry of Pezoa Véliz.(12)

Alberto Blest Gana, the early exponent of Realism in Chile, according to some critics, based all his writings on the works of Balzac and Stendhal.(13) Gana represented the Chilean customs, popular characters, natural environment and colloquial dialogues common in the "cuadros de costumbres" of his time. In his novel Martín Rivas, still full of romantic undertones, Gana depicted the life of the nascent bourgeoisie. He saw the disintegration of the traditional aristocracy in Chile as a process which could only be stopped, if not reversed, by the integration of other more dynamic and wholesome elements of Chilean society into its ranks.

His novel bore witness to the rise of the provincial "middle sectors" as a new political force anxious to make social and political capital out of their newly acquired fortune. Gana, however, failed to explore the sociology of his characters and,

instead, he simply turned his novel into a romantic love story. As Ramírez has said, Gana portrayed a society "in jeopardy, living in comfort and comparative idleness, enjoying the fruits of their wealth and social position, but otherwise, adding little or nothing to the progress of the new Chile."(14)

By the turn of the century the realist tendency in Chile was openly manifest in works such as Augusto D'Halmar's Juana Lucero (1902), Luis Orrego Luco's Un idilio nuevo (1900) and Casa Grande (1908), Federico Gana's Días de Campo (1916), Joaquín Edwards Bello's El inútil (1910) and El Roto (1920), and, to a large extent, the short stories written by Baldomero Lillo himself during the first two decades of the new century. The degree of Realism in these writers was not uniform but, on the contrary, varied and was conditioned by the particular circumstance of each individual, his class interests and cultural background. As a group, they did not constitute a co-ordinated generation of writers working towards a common end.(15)

In Juana Lucero, D'Halmar describes the life of a prostitute in a way which resembles Zola's Nana. Juana Lucero is a tormented woman forced into prostitution by her circumstances and subsequently haunted by a religious education which had left her with an overriding feeling of guilt that finally drives her insane. D'Halmar's novel has the merit of providing an insight into the psychological evolution of his characters against a background of social customs, taboos and language which faithfully reflect Chile's society at the turn of the century. Such a society, however, is much more accurately described in the



novels of Orrego Luco; Idilio Nuevo and Casa Grande depict a divided society in which the dominant sectors are faced with internal contradiction and threatened by new social sectors and by social conflict.

In Casa Grande, Orrego Luco takes over from Blest Gana and develops those social themes much further. His aim was to penetrate the social psychology of the bourgeoisie. He was the first Chilean writer to discuss the disintegration of the patriarchal family institution and the sacred values which had undisputedly governed society as a whole. Referring to the couple who are the protagonists of Casa Grande, Fernando Alegría described this process as follows:

"La pareja de Casa Grande alimenta en su discordia una inseguridad básica que corroe la vida del hogar, tanto como la voluntad de lucha del individuo ... El desenlace no sorprende, surge como la coronación lógica de un proceso sentimental e intelectual en que las defensas de una clase hasta entonces privilegiada, empiezan a caer como destruídas en su médula por el ácido de una condición social que no logran entender y a la cual, por tanto, no pueden adaptarse."(16)

The writings of Orrego Luco emerged against the background of the false wealth produced by Chile's nitrate age. Inspired by Zola, he painted the moral malaise of the emerging city where a new bourgeoisie (in whose ranks he himself could be counted) was seeking access to the ruling establishment. The aristocrats depicted in Casa Grande represent the transformation of the old ruling sector which is forced to accept the "nouveaux riches" and forced also to become involved with stock market ventures and

capitalist enterprises in general. Despite his own social background, the picture that Orrego Luco offers of the new economic activities reflects a criticism which can only be made from the point of view of the old pattern of domination. Banking and stock exchange activities are viewed as unscrupulous and perverse endeavours causing the adverse social and economic conditions which give rise to riots, strikes and social protest in general.

Life in the old hacienda is described by Federico Gana with a deeply paternalistic perspective. Gana himself was a landlord and in his Días de Campo he wrote as the good master showing some concern for the lives of inquilinos (tenant farmers) like those working his lands. His paternalism is probably aided by his own condition as an impoverished aristocrat. His Realism approached that brand of Criollismo that had developed by the second decade of the twentieth century, seeking a truthful representation of rural types and customs. In El Inútil and El Roto, Joaquín Edwards Bello made a similar attempt in a different environment: the rural types are transported to the city and are shown undergoing dramatic changes brought about by nascent capitalism. Pushed by worsening conditions out of the haciendas and pulled by the illusory hopes of a better life into the towns, the migrant peasant loses his rural roots and finds himself stranded in a hostile urban environment of unemployment, poverty and misery. Led by his journalistic vocation, Edwards Bello digs deep into the vices and perversion of the urban "bas fonds" of Central

Chile during the first two decades of the twentieth century.(17)

Most of the themes treated by his contemporaries were also taken up by Baldomero Lillo. The inhabitants of his short stories also were peasants, fishermen, Indians, urban rotos and, particularly, coalminers. His attitude, however, was not merely sympathetic towards the condition of his people but rather one of criticism showing the real problems of the workers; he was able to experience those problems at first hand however, and not, as was the case with his contemporaries, from the standpoint of an outsider; he thus avoided any patronising tone in his work. He can be viewed rather, as Ramírez has stated, as "the earliest and most genuine conveyer of the new spirit which sought the emancipation of the poor. His art marks the birth in Chile of a new feeling of suffering and compassion for man exploited by man for the sake of economic gain."(18)

As an insider, Lillo represented the real life of his own people, adopting an attitude similar to that of Gorky, Lillo's contemporary who, though he lived on the other side of the world, shared with him both thematic and political ideals concerning the total transformation of society.(19)

The materialistic determinism expressed by the Chilean Realist writers differs from one to another. It was possibly more strongly emphasised in the works of D'Halmar and Orrego Luco, but this was because of their shared knowledge of Zola's Naturalism rather than through any direct Realist influence. Chilean Realists did see the individual as caught by the milieu

and moulded by heredity, but there was in their writings a clear intention to avoid a fatalistic approach to human destiny. Perhaps this was due to their Christian heritage reinforced by the Spanish Realism of Emilia Pardo Bazán, Pérez Galdós and other writers who were read and discussed in some literary circles.(20) On the whole, however, the portrayal of reality was pessimistic and suggested no solution, at least in this world. Writers were more concerned with an artistic representation of reality rather than with a search for solutions. Perhaps the only exception was, again, Baldomero Lillo whose work showed confidence in the unchanging moral values of the Chilean people and whose prose always conveyed a glimpse of hope for a positive transformation of mankind.

The representation of reality, however, still revealed contradictions; some writers were still prone to using European expressions as an affectation, rather than simply employing such terms as had been incorporated into Chilean Spanish. On the other hand, everyday language, popular sayings and regional usages now appeared in literature for the first time, and this was a specific Realist contribution. Generally, the Realist writers succeeded in representing everyday life in Chile during a period of crisis. They testified to the advance of capitalism and its concomitant dangers to basic institutions such as the family and Christian values now endangered by the overriding effects of a materialist expansion that led to a polarization of social classes.

## 2. NATURALISM AND CHILEAN LITERATURE

It is true to say that Realist and Naturalist influences are difficult to separate in the works of Chilean writers. What matters most is the fact that both literary currents were assimilated at a period when significant social and economic changes were taking place in Chile. The economies of most Latin American countries had been fully incorporated into a worldwide network of commercial and financial transactions and the improvement or decline of living standards became dependent on the conditions of the international economy.

Nascent industrialization brought to the towns a large mass of peasants searching for better conditions of life, but they soon found themselves inhabiting an overcrowded environment totally unprepared for urban and industrial life. Since the existing economic structure was unable to absorb these marginal masses, they became a formidable social problem in the eyes of the ruling elites. It is against this background that Naturalist literature reached Chilean shores. Zola's writings in particular were rapidly assimilated by a number of local writers who found in his novels a source of inspiration in those themes based on realities similar to Zola's France. As Alberto Sánchez put it,

"si el Naturalismo creció entre nosotros después de 1870, se debió más que a Zola, a las circunstancias que nos envolvían. Las mismas determinantes del auge europeo: motines, asonadas, guerras, revoluciones."(21)

Naturalism has been seen by some authors as a further

development of Realism. George Lukacs contended that "Zola always regarded himself as the heir and follower of Balzac and Stendhal, the two great realists of the nineteenth century." (22) Furst and Skrine confirm that Naturalism "differs from Realism but it is not independent from it. What the Realists and Naturalists have in common is the fundamental belief that art is in essence a mimetic, objective representation of outer reality." (23) Naturalism was inspired by the positivist philosophy of August Comte, one of whose formative influences was Hippolyte Taine's materialistic concept of history together with the idea that the environment was a powerful influence conditioning human behaviour. In his Essais de critique et d'histoire, Taine described human behaviour as a combined product of both an original molecule transmitted from generation to generation and the environment, the two of which met historically at a specific "moment" or "circumstance" which was the only conditioning factor derived from human behaviour. (24) Other ideas were contributed by Claude Bernard through his explorations into experimental medicine, seeking an explanation of human behaviour based in the use of exclusively scientific methods devoid of intuitive and subjective elements.

A further development was found in Zola's assimilation of Darwin's idea that man was a product of natural history. Zola applied such an idea in his Le Roman Experimental. In this respect, Schwartz states that by applying the above concepts, "Zola found that it was easier to handle the seamier side of life showing the fatalism so inherently a part of these novels, and

much easier to pin down through observation and experience."(25)

The consequence of these methodological practices was a literary determinism where man was limited by natural or social forces and behaved erratically according to the instinctual drives or the irrational feelings involved. The characters portrayed by Zola, for instance, are surrounded by social vices and tragedies produced either by the environment or by hereditary factors over which man has no control.

In Chile, as in the rest of Latin America, Naturalism caused controversy because of the crudity of its themes.(26) Nevertheless, many writers counted themselves among the followers of the new trend, perhaps reflecting the failure of previous literary influences and the declining influence of Catholic ideas. On the other hand, Naturalism helped to expand the thematic range and proved a useful tool for dealing with the problems of the indio, the mulato and the rural migrant. Under the impact of Zola's Naturalism some authors in Chile, by the turn of the century, moved inwards into their own environment and incorporated for the first time the growing urban areas with its "bas fonds" into their literary topics. Authors who had been classed as Realists were also carried along by the tide of Naturalism.

One well known exponent of Naturalism was, again, Luis Orrego Luco, a writer with a mind open to all European influences which he used to explain the demise of the old traditional and aristocratic society fundamentally altered by the emergence of

joint-stock companies, foreign trade, urban life and social conflict. Following Zola's lines, he envisaged a long term literary plan based on what he called "Los Vicios de Chile", in a fashion similar to Les Rougon Macquart, and gave expression to his plan through his Escenas de la Vida en Chile.

In Un idilio nuevo (1904), Orrego came even closer to Naturalism; for there was a clear resemblance between his novel and some aspects of Goncourt's studies of the family (as in the case of Renée Mauperin, for instance). According to Urbistondo there is also a parallel between Balzac's Père Goriot and Orrego's novel, in his critical representation of the aristocracy and in the "invisible connection" with the proletarian strata.(27) In Orrego's major work, Casa Grande, the author goes further in his Naturalist itinerary by applying the ideas of heredity and atavism as the main forces ruling over the life of his characters. In this sense, Casa Grande is a representative work of Chilean Naturalism.(28)

Other Chilean writers, also classed as Naturalists, are less clearly so. Although Augusto D'Halmar's Juana Lucero (1900), for instance, presents the life of a prostitute (a favourite Naturalist topic) it still preserves a romantic flavour. In fact, this was the only Naturalist novel that D'Halmar, better known as a Modernista, actually wrote.(29) The same observation is valid for Joaquín Edwards Bello's late expression of Naturalism in his novel El Roto (1918) because its theme - life in a brothel - was then a well-worn Naturalist subject and Edwards' treatment was devoid of the rigour of the classic



Naturalist approach. El Roto reflects the emergence of a new social class, but does not explore the character or experience of the roto from within.

Lillo has been considered a Naturalist writer because of his persistent depiction of the misery and corruption prevailing in Chile at the turn of the century as well as of fatalistic elements found in his work.(30) It would be more appropriate, however, to consider Lillo as an author who uses Naturalist, as well as Realist, elements in his narrative style sometimes taken directly from real life and sometimes the fruit of his imagination, but at all times within the scope of his own experience and cultural background. Both Naturalism and Realism provided Lillo with useful tools, new techniques which he could apply to the treatment of his themes and which gave legitimacy to the incorporation of popular and working class characters into the literary composition. The introduction of the poor as primary material into literature represented a further stage in the attempt to develop a national literature, and it was this peculiar mixture of currents and styles which at times has been loosely called criollismo.(31)

#### MODERNISMO IN CHILEAN LITERATURE

Modernismo is another major component in Chile's literary history at the turn of the century. Having originated in Latin America, Modernismo was a literary movement which rapidly spread from poetry to prose fiction. In the first stage of this movement, writers concentrated on aesthetic forms and technical

refinement, introducing a series of formal innovations which included elements of synesthesia and plastic art. It was an attempt at an exaltation of the senses, emphasising the rare and the exotic, ranging from Chinese and Hindu motifs to classical mythology. The mysterious, subjective, amoral and alien had a particular appeal for the Modernistas. They held largely pessimistic and melancholic views of mankind and sought out the extremely old or the futuristic. They moved with ease from Hellenistic literature to medieval poetry and to the glitter of eighteenth century rhetoric. Their topics ranged from illicit love and incest to homosexuality.

Although Rubén Darío, the leading figure in the development of Modernismo, was living in Chile during the gestation of the new movement (1886-1889), his presence passed almost unnoticed for the young generation of intellectuals who were detaching themselves from the aristocratic establishment. At that time Darío still frequented the traditionally aristocratic circles, and the appearance of Azul in 1888 was almost ignored by writers and members of the public who were more concerned with social issues.(32) The political turmoil preceding the 1891 civil war in Chile further contributed to lessening the impact of the new movement.

The first Modernista work in Chile was Ritmos by Pedro Antonio González, published in 1895. González received the support of Marcial Cabrera Guerra, the editor of the newspaper La Ley whose pages were opened to the new literary trend.(33) The poetry written by González represented a new line based on themes

and materials suggested by the national reality and presented in novel fashion.(34) It was only with González that Modernismo really got off the ground in Chile because, as Fein has stated, "he awakened the greatest enthusiasm in the younger generation".(35) Carlos Contreras was one of the converts to the new movement who rapidly became the leading figure of this first stage of Modernismo.

The movement expressed itself in the existing media and also managed to promote a large number of new literary reviews and newspapers, so many, in fact, that many had only a very brief existence. Interesting reviews such as Lilas y Campánulas, La Revista de Santiago, La Revista Nueva, etc. enjoyed transient success and died shortly after their creation. Others, like Revista Cómica and Pluma y Lápiz had a more solid foundation, but even they were unable to survive beyond 1905.(36)

It was around this time (1897-98) that Lillo arrived in Santiago, when the effervescence of this aesthetic phase of Modernismo - also called decadentismo by Fein - was at its height. Lillo's brother, Samuel, was a leading figure in the new movement and thus Baldomero spent his first year in the capital immersed in the Modernista sea. It was probably carried by this current that Baldomero Lillo wrote his first work, the poem El Mar, an irrelevant piece published in the Revista Cómica and justly ignored by the critics.(37)

The deep-rooted social conflict which was brewing in the country by the turn of the century did not fail to influence the

Modernistas, opening up a second stage when poets became more concerned with writing "humanitarian poetry". In some cases this amounted to a social crusade, to which poets like González himself and Bórquez Solar added a taste of rebellion in compositions which pleaded for liberty and progress and denounced the appalling conditions of misery and social injustice that existed in the country.(38)

Obviously, the new movement was not impervious to the parallel emergence of both Realist and Naturalist currents; Modernistas were also avid readers of Zola, Tolstoy and other influential writers. Existing social conditions could not fail to make an impact on the Modernistas, and anarchism was also a growing influence. These pressures combined to transform their earlier Parnassian approach into a search for social justice, albeit still in purely idealistic form.(39)

During the period 1900 to 1904, Modernista poetry proliferated in Chile and from it emerged a third current. The poet Diego Dublé Urrutia introduced innovations by focussing attention on natural landscape and its inhabitants, which represented an early form of criollismo.(40) Although criollismo was a current strictly outside the literary scope of the Modernistas, it is significant that links did exist between the two currents. Important poets such as Magallanes Moure and Carlos Pezoa Véliz were touched by Criollismo, and the latter in particular developed a form of criollismo which did not lose its awareness of social conflict.(41) According to Montenegro, for example, Pezoa Véliz can be considered a writer similar to

Baldomero Lillo "por la honradez y sentido de responsabilidad artística que les pone a salvo de la fraseología de la época y también del preciosismo, salvo en ciertos caprichos momentáneos."(42)

Around these years Baldomero Lillo began his career as a short story writer. His first collection of short stories, Subterra, was published in 1904, although some of the stories had already appeared in literary magazines. These stories, depicting the socially and psychologically conflictive world of coal mining, were more clearly based on real experiences and conveyed in a realist-naturalist rather than a Modernista frame, though they do contain some elements of Modernismo. These elements were more noticeable in Subsole, published in 1908, which included four purely imaginative short stories written in a Modernista style. Although these four stories have been considered deviations from Lillo's main literary purpose, there is a guiding moral principle of social justice underlying that mythical world which forms a structural link between these cuentos Modernistas and his central literary production. It is precisely the fact that his literary objectives went beyond the purely aesthetic form that makes Lillo a writer who cannot be counted among the idealistic Modernistas. Even the humanitarian concern, which he shared with them was expressed in a very different way. Whereas the Modernistas were writers who, at one stage of their literary development, had discovered poverty and exploitation as another theme to be added to their idealistic sources of inspiration, Lillo was rather one of the exploited writing about experiences

which he himself had either undergone or directly observed and which had left deep marks on his consciousness.(43)

Another factor explaining the limited impact of Modernismo on Lillo's writing is the fact that in Chile it was clearly declining at the moment of Lillo's emergence as a writer. The humanitarian poetry of the Modernistas did not have roots sufficiently powerful to withstand adverse financial conditions. The demise of the review Pluma y Lápiz, the last Modernista bastion, marked the end of that brand of poetry and the dispersal of the writers involved. Their failure was made even more evident by the fact that the social struggle was at its height when they disappeared from the scene. Despite their critical stance towards the ruling elites, and their humanitarian concern, they did not participate directly in activities of any social or political consequence. They were aware of the political situation of their country but complete identification with the poor was very rare.(44) These writers lived in a different world and always cherished a sense of superiority over the rest of society. They always lived in the midst of a contradiction between their humanitarian concern and their condition as an intellectual aristocracy. Perhaps it was this very contradiction that led to the novel of despair that emerged as a last cry of Modernismo, reflecting their frustration when they realized that their ideas simply could not be put into practice in any form.(45)

#### 4. POPULAR CULTURE AS LITERARY BACKGROUND

The development of Realism, Naturalism and Modernismo had a considerable impact on Chile's literary history and the work of Baldomero Lillo bears witness to it. However, the account of neither Chile's cultural life at the turn of the century nor the background to Lillo's writing would be complete unless it contained reference to the culture of the forgotten masses. Literature in Chile has always been very limited in both its producers and its audiences, thus a purely literary analysis of culture would exclude the expression of the majority, the mass of the illiterate, subject to all the consequences of social and economic changes.

Despite the misery of their existence, the peasant and the proletarian, the artisan and the vagabond, women and men, in sum, the people, have always proved capable of maintaining a rich and thriving popular culture. This is of great relevance in our analysis because the need to capture the spirit of popular culture was an overriding consideration in Lillo's literary creation.

In the field of literature there was a form of fiction that captured the imagination of some sectors of the masses - at least those sectors who could either read or gain access to a reader who would transmit the contents of the fiction to them - from very early in the nineteenth century. This was the Folletín or Novela por Entregas that circulated widely in Chile by the mid-century and reached a significant proportion of the

masses.(46)

According to Leonardo Romero, the Folletín was a characteristic form which serialized novels as early as the eighteenth century in Spain. Novels were fragmented and their component parts were released either in independent series of Folletines or in Folletines de Periódicos.(47) In Chile this began to develop in the nineteenth century. Novels of well-known European writers such as Alexandre Dumas, Balzac, George Sand and others were made known through Folletines; the instalments of works by Peninsular Folletinistas Fernández y González and Blasco Ibañez were among the most popular, and the sale of Folletines proved a relatively profitable business. Besides being a vehicle for the work of well-known writers, Folletinismo became a literary genre in its own right. As Ferrera has said, Folletines were paranovelas, that is, sometimes an adulteration of the original and sometimes an endless concoction of absurd and fantastic adventures, mainly of an amorous nature. The enterprise, however, was successful in creating an audience for literary production. Ferrera has observed that "la novela por entrega no puede existir sin la novela, la auténtica, pero tampoco hubieran visto la luz sin una empresa económica, sin una concentración del lectorado, sin un sistema de concentración adecuado."(48)

The problem with the creation of a market for folletines was that demand outgrew supply and the deficit was made up by poor quality production. More and more folletines departed from the patterns of established novels and became a pseudo-literature



dealing with taboo subjects like broken marriages, hidden maternity, adultery, illegitimate children and other kinds of conflictive amorous relationships which still provide the subject-matter of popular romances. They were based on the worst and simplest kinds of sentimentalism related to characters that had an appeal to a feminine readership - the familiar maids, seamstresses and washerwomen overcoming, at least in fantasy, the injustice represented by selfish and arrogant rich women.(49)

The production of one Chilean folletinista during the second half of the nineteenth century stood apart from the rest; he was Martín Palma, who wrote Los secretos del pueblo, based on the idea of social regeneration in accordance with Christian principles. He wrote also on the abuses of the clergy and the obscure use of the confessional box.(50) Liborio Briebea, another folletinista, exploited the patriotic vein and wrote on the abuses of the Spanish troops during the Colony and the War of Independence. There was also Daniel Barros Grez who wrote Pipiolos y Pelucones for a more select readership engaged in the political disputes between Chilean "Whigs and Tories".(51) The works of these Chilean folletinistas, together with those of more established French and Spanish authors, were the first texts available to all people with an interest in literature and their appeal did not derive from their literary excellence but merely from the fact that they were there, as perhaps the only material available to be read.

As his biographer González Vera mentioned, Lillo did read

many of these folletines but they had no effect on his future literary career, with the likely exception of Martín Palma's folletines which might have helped to develop in Lillo a critical approach to church and society. Otherwise, Folletinismo made no impact at all on Lillo. Folletinismo was a source of alienation for the pueblo from its own real culture and reality and Lillo was far more concerned with the living elements of popular culture. His main aim was the conscious interpretation of that reality and commercialized paraliteratura did not represent such reality. On the contrary, as Ferreras has said, "la novela por entregas no corresponde exactamente al lectorado, sino que se inspira o se estructura sobre una visión del mundo pequeño burguesa, reaccionaria, moralizante, pacticista."(52) Thus, although folletines were the most widely read and distributed form of literature for the people, this was not the popular culture that interested Lillo. He looked to the most direct expressions of popular experience, to forms and themes that had evolved directly out of that experience.

Traditional popular culture in most parts of Latin America, in a broad sense, originated from the primitive expression of the indigenous culture which merged with the incoming Spanish culture and religion carried by the colonists. One such form of cultural expression carried to the New World by the Spanish soldiers was the string literature or the Versos de Ciegos that were popular in Spain. Caro Baroja affirms that those Versos de Ciegos

"...encerraban la flor de la fantasía popular y de la historia; los había de historia sagrada, de cuentos orientales, de epopeyas medievales del ciclo carolingio, de libros de

caballería... Eran el sedimento poético de los siglos, que después de haber nutrido los cantos y relatos que han consolado a tantas generaciones rodando de boca en oído y de oído en boca, contados al amor de la lumbre..."(53)

Undoubtedly, string literature was an important element in the formation of Chilean popular literature. Some formative elements of the Versos de Ciegos can still be found in popular verses and romances recited and sung by the people. In 1912, Julio Vicuña Cifuentes collected Romances from peasants and other labourers in Central Chile and published the collection under the title Romances populares y vulgares. Vicuña's survey shows very clearly the Peninsular roots of those verses learnt from parents and grandparents. Quoting Menéndez Pidal, Vicuña states that the sixteenth century

"fue el (siglo) de mayor difusión del Romancero castellano, y es indudable que entonces comenzaron a propagarse en nuestras incipientes poblaciones y que de sus padres aprendieron los primeros chilenos que llevaron sangre española en sus venas."(54)

Although these romances had lost their original metre and had altered the structure of the verses, they preserved the original theme as in the Peninsular Versos de ciegos. Sometimes the popular romances are still sung in the form of light and lively tonadas contrasting with the sad and rather solemn music of the romances as sung in Spain.

Popular poetry during the three centuries of colonial life in Chile was cultivated by popular poets and minstrels who improvised their compositions. This genre of improvised poetry

continued to exist in the first century of independence and even nowadays it is still possible to find puetas who can improvise a few décimas and cuartetos on many subjects, either human or divine. In his Literatura Chilena, Samuel Lillo distinguishes between two types of improvisers during colonial times: the educated friars dealing with festive and light themes and the payadores who were more popular poets improvising on any theme in a picaresque style.(55)

Popular poets were the incarnation of the moods and sentiments of the pueblo and the interpreters of deep rooted traditions and customs. As Diego Muñoz has stated, in popular poetry "se trasuntan las virtudes más puras del pueblo, sus normas morales codificadas en el corazón, (la poesía popular) es, por lo tanto, un documento para el estudio del carácter nacional."(56)

Muñoz also states that there is a tendency for this popular poetry to be expressed in predetermined masculine and feminine roles. Women were restricted to singing festive cuecas y tonadas and men cogollos y líricas together with versos a lo humano and versos a lo Divino, the former dealing with love, marriage, politics, war, patriotism, murder, executions and natural catastrophes and the latter with the Bible, the church, the saints, the day of judgment and other funeral compositions.(57) Lillo's short stories acknowledged this role distinction, particularly with reference to women. In his story "El angelito", which concerns the gathering during the wake of a child, he includes in the description of the scenery "una voz de

mujer, aguda y desafinada, cantaba con acento estentóreo: ...cuan dichoso el angelito / que se va glorioso al cielo...'"(58) Also in another story, "La cruz de Salomón", he mentions again the woman tocadora de guitarra in the celebration of the threshing.(59)

Most popular poetry, however, is based on the fate of the people and on current national and political life. The poet frequently refers to the social differences and to the unbearable conditions of existence facing the peasants and miners. The all-too-frequent cases of repression and abuse of power are recalled and recounted in popular poetry, and in order that the poet may protest at such injustice. The improvised verses en cuartetas y décimas composed by a poet named Javier Pérez on the occasion of a case of political repression against popular demonstrations during the government of president Federico Errázuriz Echaurren (1896-1901) bear some resemblance to Lillo's "La Carga", which is a description of a similar repression that took place in 1905.(60) Another poem also referring to the political situation prevailing during the presidency of Errázuriz, "La triste situación del pueblo chileno", is a typical example of critical poetry:

"Pobres chilenos que haremos  
con tanta calamidad  
Federico, el Presidente,  
hoy nos mira sin piedad.

Es triste la situación  
que soportamos hoy día  
y es causa la tiranía  
que existe en nuestra nación,  
verdugos del pueblo son  
los ministros que tenemos  
y en la miseria nos vemos

lo mismo que un estropajo  
sin mantención ni trabajo  
pobres chilenos qué haremos.

El pobrerío descalzo  
aburrído está en fastidio  
por robo y por homicidio  
no le temen al cadalso,  
esto que digo no es falso  
sino la pura verdá':  
es una barbaridá'  
lo que pasa en esta vida  
la gente se halla aburrida  
con tanta calamidad

Al pobre le cuesta caro  
en donde vive el arriendo  
sin muebles se va debiendo  
y naide le presta amparo  
el rico está más avaro  
y se queja amargamente  
dice de que en lo presente  
ya no se puede vivir  
y es culpable hasta morir  
Federico, el Presidente.

...No ha hecho ninguna acción  
que se agradezca en verdá'  
para más temeridá'  
el dinero desperdicia  
y a causa de la milicia  
hoy nos mira sin piedá'"(61)

Politics - although it was an exclusive concern of the rich when suffrage was by no means universal - provided the payadores with the material for social criticism. Sometimes the payadores "sublimated" the popular aspirations for political participation by getting themselves involved, only within the realm of their poetry, in presidential election debates. The verse of the poet, either against or in favour of a given candidate, invested him with a sort of "poetical franchise".(62)

It is important to consider, for our purposes, that in popular poetry there is an explicit sense of social protest which

does not lead to conflict with the establishment inasmuch as the popular poets are confined to their own audiences and their verses do not lead to open rebellion. This protest is equivalent to the Quixotic expression "Bajo mi capa mato al rey". As long as such popular verse did not reach the columns of the papers or the speeches in Congress, the poets could recite "at length" and safely because the elites, always ignorant of popular sentiments, would remain unaware of their existence. This consideration adds relevance to Baldomero Lillo's works because these represent an attempt to transport those popular sentiments to the fore, oral traditions into written prose and idealistic rural protest into open denunciation.

Besides oral poetry, oral traditions and folk-tales in general are some of the most important elements in popular culture. In the case of Chile, as in other parts of the world, the unpredictable behaviour of the natural elements plays a significant role in the generation of superstitious beliefs, legends and folk-lore. The tragic consequences of earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, flooding and the like were a rich source for oral traditions, myths and superstitions which reflect man's inability to find a rational explanation for the immense suffering that such catastrophes can bring.

Like many other countries, Chile also has a wealth of folklore and folk-tales the description of which fall beyond the scope of our work. We can only refer to those manifestations of popular culture which help to understand Lillo's work within its historical context. Lillo included in his short stories many

characters and elements taken from the infinite reservoir of popular culture. Hence, he mentions popular characters, local habits of leisure and customs and, more frequently, he refers to myths, legends and superstitions which in some cases are the main motifs of his stories.(63)

Undoubtedly, many local superstitions and popular beliefs in Chile are similar to those in other places, including Europe. As Vicuña Cifuentes has pointed out, there exists a clear similarity between many of these Chilean superstitions and myths and their counterparts in French, Portuguese and Spanish mythology.(64)

One form of popular belief is characterized by zoological myths whereby some beasts may be associated with human fate. There is also the widespread use of supposed animal virtuousness or wickedness in order to typify human conduct.(65) Lillo made frequent use of this kind of comparison in his stories.(66) There are also the innumerable leyendas de aparecidos or legends referring to the sudden appearance of ghosts capable of inflicting damage ranging from intense panic to total insanity and death. This is a recurrent topic in Lillo's stories and forms the central theme of the story "La Chascuda".(67) In another short story - "Juan Fariña" - Lillo refers to a mining legend based on the fate of a blind miner who died in his attempt to destroy a coal mine and the figure of the blind man reappears every year, on the night of the accident, in the steeple of the local church "surgiendo de aquel embudo ... con las pupilas fijadas en la mina desolada y muerta."(68)



Another popular and sometimes less bizarre belief concerns the existence of a malign Devil who can make himself present in the form of a human being. This "personification" may sometimes result in a very inept devil who can be defeated by the ingenuity of the roto.(69) In Subterra Lillo mentions the presence of the devil in the coal mine: "Aquel obrero infatigable, del que se hablaba en voz baja y temerosa, no era sino el Diablo, que vagaba de día y noche en las profundidades de la mina, dando golpes misteriosos en las canteras abandonadas precipitando los desprendimientos de la roca y abriendo paso a través de grietas invisibles a las traidoras exhalaciones del grisú."(70)

In the repertoire of superstitions there is also the belief in malign powers with which some persons are endowed and which enables them to cause illnesses or, alternatively, to conjure up any kind of fascination or evil spell. In Chilean traditions, the evil spell is called the mal, and it can be averted only by uttering the words Dios lo bendiga hastily after the advent of evil. This can either be done by the victim himself or by a relative or friend who is capable of detecting the incoming spell. More "specialised" treatment sometimes is necessary and this is performed by a woman to whom a priest has previously read the Gospel of Saint John which enables her to carry out the appropriate exorcism consisting of a santiguamiento (the sign of the cross) whilst holding some mysterious herbs the origin and proportion of which vary according to the particular nature of the mal. The ritual of santiaguamiento is completed by the repetition of prayers prescribed by the woman which also vary in

accordance with the appropriate kind of "evil spell". This kind of superstition is also present in Lillo's short stories. In his story "Carlitos" he mentions the mal de ojo or evil eye, and in "En el Conventillo" he refers to the case of another child suffering from empacho (acute indigestion); both conditions are dealt with by healing exorcists.

There are a number of other superstitions mixed up with religious beliefs. One of these concerns the sad, and regrettably frequent, occasions when young children die. This normally sad occurrence has been transformed into a sweet-and-sour experience for the bereaved family. Popular belief holds that the death of a child, since he or she has not been touched by sin, means a straight ascent to heaven where the child would become an angelito and would intercede for the family on Judgment Day. The mourning of a child, therefore, is increasingly transformed into an occasion of rejoicing and celebration with allusive songs, poetry and drink reinforcing such belief. In his short story called appropriately "El Angelito", Lillo refers to this belief and to the excesses it can lead to when the dead child ceases completely to be the motive for the gathering and the mourning is transformed into an orgía which concludes only when "el estado de descomposición de los restos (del niño) hacía indispensable proceder a la sepultura inmediata." (71)

There exist a rich demonology and wide ranging beliefs in the supernatural as forces lying in the background (and indeed

quite frequently in the foreground) of the collective consciousness of the pueblo. This world of fantasy and superstition is not ignored by Lillo. Faithful to his purpose of conveying in his work a true picture of the vision of life held by the humble, Lillo incorporates those beliefs into his prose, at times introducing elements of criticism and scepticism and at other times accepting the supernatural belief simply as a fact of life in the miserable existence of the poor.

What matters most for Lillo is the truthful description of his characters; of the men and women he met in the mining town where he himself was brought up. This is why his stories are populated by archetypes of his own community. They are not idealised but presented as common men with the unacknowledged heroism of those who survive in the midst of appalling adversity. In this sense, he presents the roto (the "poor ragged one") not as the mythified figure of a falsely jingoistic character but rather as the popular character most capable of representing the aspirations of the poor.(72) Oreste Plath, in his Baraja de Chile, points out that a roto is the person who can be found either suffering the inclemencies of a very hostile environment around the Straits of Magellan, or faced with tempestuous storms at sea, or as a peasant who ploughs the land for the absentee landlord, or as the Northern miner who toils in the inhospitable desert.(73)

In his short stories, Lillo depicts the roto in all sorts of situations, counterposing the tragedies of daily life against his capacity to enjoy life. Lillo also remarks upon the ingenuity of

the roto who always manages to find a way of overcoming adversity and a means to survive. This is clearly shown in his characters "El Chispa", "Pirayán", "Don Paico", "Los Vecinos" and others. In order to convey this sense of ingenuity and the scope of folklore, the popular character is always portrayed as possessing an artillery of verbal resources. Barreiro Fernández has noted that in popular literature in general there is a wealth of local remarks, proverbs, riddles, stories, fables and legends which are used with a didactic purpose.(74) This can also be applied to Chile where the discourse of the roto has an ironic and satirical air which frequently carries a moral intent. What is perhaps remarkable in the case of Chilean folklore is the predominantly cheerful mood of the characters, as opposed, for instance, to the melancholic and nostalgic songs and legends of Galicia, according to the description given by Barreiro Fernández.(75)

The main purpose of this first chapter has been the provision of an overall view of the background from which Lillo wrote his short stories. Placed at the juncture of new literary trends purporting to provide the tools for a more truthful representation of the reality by means of the written word, Lillo proved capable of capturing the spirit of his times and of his people, reflecting this world in his literature using these new narrative instruments. The intense literary life of Santiago at the turn of the century gave Lillo the opportunity and the context in which to articulate his experience of life in the mining communities. In his talks to the literary circles and

coteries, he not only described the abject conditions in which people lived, but also expanded on the theme of popular culture, reproducing the myths and legends in which the cultural reality of those communities was expressed. Lillo's great merit lay not only in introducing new social elements - the poor, the miners, the ordinary people - into the literary panorama, but also in expanding the literary horizons of his contemporaries to include a popular culture which he knew and understood from the inside. It was in this sense that he added a significant new dimension to Chilean literature.

## CHAPTER II

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### LILLO; THE MAN AND HIS WORKS

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#### 1. BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

All the existing accounts left by friends, relatives and other people who at different times met Baldomero Lillo, reflect the unanimous opinion that he never lost the humility that was the product of his provincial origin and that his personality was modest and cordial. Born in Lota in 1867, he was the eldest son of José Nazario Lillo and Mercedes Figueroa. Three more brothers and two sisters completed the household (Filomena, Samuel, Fernando, Emilio, Elvira and Eduardo). Baldomero's formative years were largely spent at home under the powerful influence of his parents and the surrounding coalmining world of his native Lota.

Lillo's future compulsion to write on mining themes was well rooted within the family. Lured by the appeal of the 1848 California Gold Rush, his father was among the numerous Chileans who went there in search of a fortune largely denied by the miserable conditions of existence in the Chilean countryside. California, however, provided Don José with nothing but hard experience. The dream of instant fortune was not to be, but the hopes were kept alive and diverted to Copiapó, in northern Chile, where silver had also provided handsome rewards to fortune-seekers. Shortly after his return from California, Baldomero's father tried his luck in Copiapó, at the legendary

silver mines of Chañarcillo. Fortune also let him down in Copiapó and he was forced to return to southern Chile, older, wiser and poorer. Having failed to strike gold and silver, he finally settled for a more humble mineral: coal. He found employment in Lota, probably as a foreman in one of the coal mines in that district.(1)

In Lota, Don José Nazario Lillo married Mercedes Figueroa, whom Baldomero's brother Samuel described as "a romantic dreamer whose character was further accentuated when she married my father, who was also an idealistic dreamer."(2) Besides caring love, Doña Mercedes provided the Lillo children with their first literary background. She used to read to her children works by Espronceda, Zorrilla, Lamartine and, particularly, the popular Spanish Folletines. She also taught them to read and write.(3) It was only in 1876, when Baldomero was already nine years old, that Don José obtained a better job in Bucalemu, another mining settlement which had a small school where the brothers Baldomero and Samuel received their first formal education.

Lillo's infancy, therefore, was a world full of fantasy against a background of harsh reality. Doña Mercedes provided the literary ingredient that blended perfectly with the tales of frustrated mining pursuits narrated by his father. Don José also contributed to the literary interest of the children. In his book of personal recollections, Samuel Lillo described how his father looked after their informal education. Everyday the children were given the task of copying "a half-page of one of the various history books [my father] had." "Todas las tardes" - recalled

Samuel - "al volver de su trabajo, corregía las copias y ponía notas. Si estas eran buenas, había en la noche lectura de alguna novela de Julio Verne o de Mayne Reid".(4)

The other major ingredient in the background of the Lillo children was the coal mine itself, as the source of a modest income for the family and a wide range of characters and themes that were recorded in Baldomero's memory.

The best account of Baldomero's childhood was provided by his brother Samuel in 1954 when he was interviewed by the newspaper El Siglo. Among his recollection of Baldomero's life, Samuel tells that "Baldomero tuvo la tos convulsiva cuando niño y desde entonces quedó delicado. Lo afectaron las emanaciones de las fundiciones que había en Lota, donde nacimos y donde mi padre fue empleado de la Compañía".(5) Lillo's health was indeed very fragile and he was forced to spend long periods under the special care of his mother. Again, his brother Samuel recalled that "mi hermano Baldomero, por el mal estado de su salud, no tomaba parte en nuestros juegos y excursiones, de modo que él tranquilamente hacía su copia con bella letra que los demás envidiábamos".(6) This probably resulted in a greater share of readings and a higher demand on his father's talents as a raconteur. Silva Castro has suggested that it was Lillo's father who introduced him to the short-story by reading the "Californian prose sketches" written by Bret Harte.(7) It was also during the 1870s and 80s that the works of Ramón Pacheco, Revelaciones de Ultratumba and El Puñal y la Sotana were published together with the "folletines patrióticos" by Liborio



Briebe (Los Talaveras and El Capitán San Bruno). During this time the Lillos also became familiar with Martín Palma's "folletines" (Los secretos del confesionario and Las felicidades del matrimonio).

Nevertheless, childhood was a painful period in Lillo's life. The polluted atmosphere of mining villages infected him, at a very early age, with one of those respiratory diseases so common among the miners. It was only when the adolescent Baldomero moved to a new village with an environment purer than that of Lota that he felt relieved from the effects of contaminated air. It was either due to the War of the Pacific, when wages were drastically reduced, or because of a too long suppressed desire for adventure, that in 1879 Don José decided to join, at a very advanced age, the gold miners of Caramávida in the Cordillera de Nahuelbuta. His family stayed in Lebu where the older children could attend high school. Samuel remembers that period with particular affection:

"Estudíamos en el Liceo de Lebu, fundado en 1882. Nosotros entramos el 83. Lebu era un pueblo recién fundado, rodeado de árboles naturales de la región, no plantados por el hombre. Vivíamos al pie de la montaña. Aquellos fueron años felices para Baldomero, cuya salud se mantuvo bien. Recuerdo que salía a cazar con mi hermano Fernando. Mi padre tenía una escopeta y un fusil... Baldomero tuvo siempre una puntería extraordinaria. Con pólvora minera que consiguieron y un "balero" de mi padre hicieron balas para el fusil. Yo mismo los vi moliendo la gruesa polvora negra con una botella. Su cuento "Cañuela y Petaca" es, de comienzo a fin, un relato de la vida real. En el Liceo, Baldomero nunca pudo hacer estudios regulares. Pasó ramos sueltos."(8)

The high school in Lebu had a small library which enhanced Lillo's varied reading. That happy spell of good health and reading facilities was not to last for very long. In 1885, Lillo could not complete his second year in the school because, being the eldest son, he had to contribute to the strained family finances in a household with an absent father. After two years his father returned and the family moved back to Lota where Don José had been appointed to an administrative position. A few years later, when the family moved again, this time to work in a large estate ("Hacienda de Colcura"), Baldomero remained in Lota working at the pulpería, the mine's grocery shop. His brother Fernando also remained in Lota working as a mechanic.

Baldomero always preserved his close family links. He frequently visited and stayed with his family in Colcura, a village that doubtless provided him with insights into the conditions of life in a rural environment. Lota, however, was always the richest source for his future literary material because it was not only a mining village but also a harbour with a small fishing community. Besides, Lota was not far from Concepción, the largest town in southern Chile, to which he was frequently sent by his bosses at the pulpería. These trips brought Lillo into contact with a much wider cultural environment where he discovered the works of Dostoyevsky, Turgenev, Zola and others.

In 1895 his father died. His brothers Samuel and Emilio and his sister Filomena had already migrated to Santiago. Doña Mercedes and her second daughter joined Baldomero in Lota.(9)

Baldomero himself married Natividad Miller. At the end of 1897, already thirty years old, Baldomero quarrelled with his boss at the pulpería and decided to migrate too. He temporarily left his wife and small child with his mother and sister Elvira in the neighbouring village of Coronel and went to Santiago.

Moving to Santiago in those years must have been a courageous decision for a recently married man with a young child, himself in poor health. He probably felt the appeal of the urban glamour of the capital where most of the political and intellectual life of the country was concentrated. Besides, his brother Samuel was already the leader of a small group of intellectuals in Santiago.

When Baldomero arrived in Santiago, he stayed with his brother and spent some months working in obscure jobs - as an insurance salesman and lawyer's clerk. Samuel, who had done the same on his arrival in Santiago, had already been appointed to a modest but permanent position at the Universidad de Chile. He managed to convince his superiors and obtained a similar appointment for Baldomero. Samuel was later to recall:

"Aquel día, coloqué su nombramiento como 'Oficial Auxiliar del Consejo de Extensión Pública, Dependiente de la Secretaría de la Universidad de Chile', lo puse dobladito debajo de su servilleta. Cuando él llegó y vio el papel, dio un salto y dijo con expresión de cómico susto: ¡Qué es esto! ¡Qué es este papel! Luego se conmovió, aunque en verdad ganábamos muy poco entonces, no sé si 4 ó 5 pesos."(10)

While staying with his brother, Baldomero used to join him at the weekly Tertulias held in their lodging. Baldomero's

shyness, however, contrasted with the vivacious character of his brother Samuel. He used to sit quietly in an isolated corner listening attentively but trying not to be noticed. When he had to engage in conversations with the guests, he could only talk with confidence about the world of the villages he knew so well. It was then that these other young intellectuals stimulated Lillo to write short stories.(11) Lillo's first attempt at literary composition, however, was the sonnet "El Mar", published in mid-February in 1898, that is, shortly after his arrival in Santiago.(12) This suggests that literary creation was already one of the reasons for his moving to Santiago. There, with his brother Samuel and other young intellectuals, he found the right atmosphere for his purposes.

In 1899 Lillo published his first short story "Caza Mayor". Much to his annoyance and disappointment, it passed unnoticed by the critics. Almost by accident he later found his story selected by a literary critic, Rafael Díaz Lira, in a compilation of foreign literature. "Caza Mayor" had been mistakenly attributed to a "well known" (but unnamed) Spanish writer.(13) Lillo felt encouraged by such distinction and resumed his writing in 1902. He was also stimulated by the kind support afforded by other members of the tertulias. In fact, his brother claimed that Lillo's decision to become a short-story writer was taken at one of the tertulias. In his words, when Lillo was among close friends, he was

"alegre y comunicativo. Hacía chistes. Tenía una facilidad enorme para narrar... oírlo era una cosa encantadora. Costó convencerlo para que escribiera. La idea

surgió en las tertulias que había en mi casa... Un día lo oyeron contar "La Compuerta No. 12" y le rogaron que lo escribiera. Más tarde yo lo di a conocer. Lo leí en el Ateneo, porque Baldomero no se atrevía."(14)

"La Compuerta No. 12" was enthusiastically received by writers and other intellectuals who attended those select meetings at El Ateneo. The period 1902-04 was the most prolific in Lillo's career as a writer. In 1903 he won the Revista Católica Prize which was a literary contest for compositions based on legends. The jury stated in their report that Lillo's story "Juan Fariña" fully deserved the prize, commenting that "estudiando los (cuentos) que más se han conformado con el tema (leyendas), el Jurado considera digna del primer premio la leyenda "Juan Fariña" que lleva el seudónimo ARS. Desde el principio hasta el fin se nota en ella una pluma bastante diestra."(15)

Following the success of "La Compuerta No. 12" and "Juan Fariña," Lillo gained sufficient courage to read his stories himself to the audience at the Ateneo. This audience was, as Montenegro put it, "un muestrario representativo de la sociedad chilena del novecientos, en que familias entroncadas por línea genealógica con nuestro pasado cultural, junto con aquellas que aspiraban a parecerlo, condescendían a solemnizar esas veladas de invierno con su asistencia."(16) The themes discussed at the Ateneo ranged from political questions to literary debate. Montenegro has a beautiful recollection of Lillo's presence at the Ateneo:

"En ese ambiente de añejas evocaciones y juveniles expectativas dio a conocer sus cuentos de la vida minera Baldomero Lillo. Con su apariencia ascética y una voz un tanto opaca, este hombre que llegaba tardíamente y como a pesar suyo a solicitar la atención de un público, traía hasta aquel recinto bien alumbrado y bien abrigado, una visión incongruente e insólita de calamidades y violencia: era como endilgar de repente a una partida de turistas por el antro mal ventilado de una cantera, a la hora en que comienza a volar la dinamita ... Era, en suma, la voz de la mina la que, entre laboriosos detalles técnicos de chiflones, vagonetas, piques y galerías de arrastre iba amontonando allí mismo los ciegos desastres de la naturaleza sobre los rasgos más alevosos de la brutalidad humana ... Un silencio atónito sobrecogía ... Y entretanto el relato avanzaba como a frenéticas sacudidas con su procesión de mujeres escuálidas, chiquillos de carnes amoratadas por el frío o los golpes, mineros de cariz adusto o vencido; patrones rubicundos de gesto desdeñoso y dominador, y capataces que el miedo exasperaba hasta la demencia del esbirro."(17)

It was also in 1904 that Lillo published his first collection of short stories: Subterra: Cuadros Mineros. The book was an immediate success and within three months the first edition was sold out, despite the fact that it was a modest paperback edition with neither preface nor publisher mentioned in support of the publication. In those days there were no publishing houses in Chile and any writer wishing to publish his work had to pay a large deposit to the printers as a guarantee against sales, the latter usually supported by a subscription list. In the case of Lillo, his collection of short stories was perhaps, as Montenegro himself suggested, the first book by a national author to be widely bought by ordinary people..(18)

From the date of the publication of Subterra, Lillo began to lead a much more active life as an intellectual. He became involved with the activities of the Universidad Popular, an institution where workers could study in the evenings, largely staffed by volunteers and aiming at a much wider dissemination of education and culture. There he became acquainted with new political ideas, particularly those put forward by anarchists in the various libertarian groups that were emerging in Santiago and Valparaíso, with an active participation of literary figures and other intellectuals.(19)

In 1905 there was a strike of significant proportions in Santiago. It was the result of protests by the workers against the high cost of living and, particularly, the rise in the price of meat. The mass character of the strike prompted the government to carry out large scale repression in which hundreds of workers were killed. This made a great impression on Lillo and he wrote about the strike in his story "La Carga".

At about this time, 1905, Lillo decided to settle in San Bernardo, a quiet rural village near Santiago. He wanted to live at a distance from the bourgeois circle of intellectuals to which he could never fully adapt himself. In San Bernardo he built his own circle of sincere and simple friends such as the gallero who ran the cock-fight arena; Besoin, baker and anarchist, and Escobar y Carvallo, vegetarian and "Epicurean" poet. He also maintained some of his previous intellectual friendships in Santiago, for example with Guillermo Labarca, with whom he shared the El Mercurio Prize for the best short story in 1904 (his own

entry was "Subsole"), the poets Carlos Mondaca and Max Jara and the writer Eduardo Barrios.

In 1906 Lillo published "En la Rueda", based on his first-hand knowledge of cock-fighting in San Bernardo. His detailed description of the crudeness and brutality of such a popular pastime amounted to a denunciation of cock-fighting and led the "Intendente de San Bernardo" to ban the "sport" altogether. This caused such resentment in Lillo's neighbourhood that he was forced to move to another part of the village. There he continued to write short stories which the magazine Zig-Zag and the daily El Mercurio were now ready to publish. In 1907 Lillo published a new collection of short-stories called Subsole. Despite a favourable reception by the critics, however the book was considered to be inferior to Subterra.

By the end of 1907 - a year of economic crisis, bankruptcies and steep rises in the cost of living - an event occurred in the nitrate town of Iquique which was to have a profound impact on Lillo's consciousness. A formidable strike in the nitrate districts of Tarapacá developed into a massive protest march of over 15,000 miners which converged on the port of Iquique, the capital of the province. The government refused to meet the demands of the miners and resorted to one of the most brutal acts of repression in the history of Latin America. Troops were sent to Iquique and more than 2000 miners were massacred on December 21st 1907.

This inhuman act wounded Lillo's sensibilities and prompted



him to conceive a novel based on the life of the nitrate miners in the northern region. The main theme of his novel was to be the development of workers' unrest in the nitrate mines; in it he aimed to develop those points that he had presented in a lecture to the Ateneo (1910) on the deplorable working and living conditions that were endured in the mines. In the novel the situation would eventually result in a strike of tragic consequences as had happened in real life. The novel was to be called La Huelga.<sup>(20)</sup> With great enthusiasm, Lillo devoted himself to gathering information for his novel. According to those who heard him talking with passion about his project, the proposed novel had a clear political intent; he aimed to give his characters a decisively working class identity and the main protagonist was to be a political agitator.<sup>(21)</sup> He sought from Pedro Godoy, his friend from the Universidad Popular, sociological information on which a typology of working class characters could be based. He approached Eduardo Barrios, his colleague at the University, because Barrios had lived for some years in Iquique, and he read numerous pamphlets and other publications dealing with nitrate enterprises in northern Chile.

Lillo's preoccupation with his novel considerably reduced his output of short stories. In 1908 he wrote only two stories: "Malvavisco" and "La Ballena". In the same year he began a draft of the first chapter of the novel, yet, by the end of the year he had almost completely ceased to write. This was not caused by the complexity of the subject matter alone, as most critics have suggested; another main reason for his sluggish literary

production after 1908 was surely the profound impact caused by the death of his sister Filomena and his brother Emilio. Filomena died in August and Emilio in October, 1908, both killed by a similar disease to that which was already affecting Baldomero himself - bronchial pneumonia. Moreover, a few months later his mother also died from the same disease.

Nevertheless, he persevered with the novel, writing at least four draft versions of the first chapter; yet he clearly felt, after each draft, that more background information was still needed. By the end of 1909 his friends at the University procured for him a commission to settle an internal dispute at a high school in Copiapó. Having fulfilled the purpose of the commission, he took ten days leave in order to visit the nitrate fields. He visited Iquique and went to the "Escuela Santa María", site of the 1907 massacre, where he talked to many eye-witnesses. This was too short a visit, however, to enable him to take in the environment and living conditions of the nitrate workers.

On his return to Santiago, he read a paper at the Ateneo on the Chilean nitrate miner and publicly announced his intention to write the novel La Huelga. The paper reveals Lillo as a careful and capable researcher who only required more time and resources to become better acquainted with the reality he intended to depict. In the mid-1910s he invited two of the surviving leaders of the Santa María strike to spend some time at his home. The progress of his novel, however, was again interrupted by yet another misfortune. His wife, also affected by a respiratory

disease, fell gravely ill and required permanent care and attention. She died in 1912 and Lillo, himself weak and almost broken, had to take full charge of his four children. His situation forced him to request indefinite leave from his duties.

It was not until 1917 that he resumed his writing. He then published a few stories; but tuberculosis was unrelentingly taking its toll of him. That same year he requested an early retirement on medical grounds and retired to San Bernardo with a modest income. His application for retirement was supported by four reports from well known doctors who unanimously diagnosed his illness as chronic tuberculosis.(22) In San Bernardo he spent his last years in the company of his children and those friends whose sense of loyalty overcame their fear of contagion. They were the poet Manuel Magallanes Moure, the writer Federico Gana and, particularly, Besoin, the baker and Francisco Santa María, the local police chief.

In 1922 - a year before Lillo's death - the writer Januario Espinosa visited him in San Bernardo, a meeting he was later to recall as follows:

"Me acogió muy amable, rodeado de sus hijos; tres o cuatro, si la memoria no me engaña; el mayor de no más de unos doce años.

- ¿Y como va su novela, Baldomero? - fue una de mis primeras preguntas... - He avanzado muy poco - me respondió con una sonrisa que quiso ser alegre, pero que resultaba triste - la mala salud no me deja..."(23)

Baldomero Lillo died on the 10th September 1923. He was 56

years old. Two months earlier he had written the short story "Inamible", which - a paradox of his sad existence - was a masterpiece in humour.

One critic had greeted the appearance of Lillo's first book in 1904, with words that can provide a suitable epitaph: "Gratitud y aplauso merece el hombre que, como el señor Lillo, cumple con la sagrada misión de defender a los pequeños, los humildes, los desamparados." (24)

## 2. A THEMATIC APPROACH

Lillo's literary production can be summarised as follows: 47 short stories, 2 articles, 1 sonnet, 1 unpublished lecture on the nitrate mines and 4 versions of the first chapter of the novel he never managed to complete. The 47 short stories can be classified into five thematic groups: 11 stories with a direct mining content, 4 that are purely imaginative prose, 7 whose themes are centred on the sea, 11 stories set within an urban context and, finally, 14 stories whose subject matter is the Chilean countryside. As already mentioned, the sonnet "El Mar" was Lillo's first literary production published in 1898.

### a) Mining Stories

The stories included in this group are:- "Los Inválidos", "La Compuerta No. 12", "El Grisú", "El Pago", "El Chiflón del Diablo", "El Pozo", Juan Fariña", "El Registro", "La Barrena", "El Alma de la Máquina" and "Sobre el Abismo". Lillo's writings other than short stories also deal with mining themes; these

include "El Obrero Chileno en la Pampa Salitrera", "La Calichera", "La Huelga", "En la Pampa" and, again, "La Huelga", the first being an unpublished lecture and the last four the various versions of the initial chapter of the novel Lillo never finished.

Lillo's mining short stories are based on the life of the miners in the village of Lota, on the southern coast of Chile. The harsh working and living conditions that prevailed in Lota are here depicted by a writer who himself was born and lived in the area until he was nearly 30 years old.

When considering the whole set of coal-mining stories together, it is possible to argue that they form the basis of a novel in which the coal mine itself is the overriding reality ruling the lives of the miners. It is also possible to trace a sense of temporal continuity between these stories. Thus, the setting for this imaginary novel can be said to be depicted in stories such as "El Pozo" and "El Registro" with other aspects of life 'down the pit' being described in "El Chiflón del Diablo" and "El Grisú". The old fashioned techniques applied by the miners in their daily work, the all-too frequent accidents and the hard toil required to extract the coal provide the vision of a dynamic and - sometimes literally - explosive atmosphere with acute social contrasts in which a tiny minority of rich and idle bosses co-exist with a host of exploited miners living in miserable conditions.

Pursuing this analogy further, "La Barrena" and then "Juan

*Fariña*" can be considered as forming the two first chapters of this imaginary novel. These are stories in which Lillo has borrowed from Chilean traditional culture and literature.(25) The large number of representative figures introduced by Lillo in these stories, again taken as a whole, form the social background of the novel with all its complexities and conflict. Our assumption is confirmed by the reappearance of figures from one story in another. For instance, in Lillo's description of the crowd in "El Pago", a reference is made to the old foreman from "Los Inválidos" and to the ~~eight~~<sup>eighty</sup>-year old gate keeper of "La Compuerta No. 12".(26) But those characters were not developed further or socially connected to each other.

Throughout the mining stories, Lillo presents scattered elements of the reality in the mine. For example, the aged miners forced to stop working underground because they have become blind, crippled or affected by incurable diseases; children forced to abandon their happy childhood on the surface of the mining camp because they must begin to support themselves; workers working twelve hour non-stop shifts in narrow and suffocating galleries, aged early in life due to the extreme hard work; arbitrary payment of wages that maintained the miner in abject poverty and permanently indebted to the company; appalling sanitary conditions; and the absence of any medical attention or accident compensation.

Lillo wrote the mine stories when capitalism was developing, and Chile was living through a transitional period. Although miners' production was linked to the international market, mining

settlements were not adapted to intensive exploitation and were still organised as in colonial times, as isolated camps with their own internal economy, their own police force and administrative authorities depending directly on the mine owner; and the situation was favoured by the government's "laissez faire" policies.(27) Lillo noticed how the living and working conditions in the mine were the result of socio-economic and historical changes. But, he did not apply this general view to his characters, because the miners did not yet see the connection between their particular situation and a more general reality. Lillo wanted to reflect reality as honestly as possible, thus he was unable to represent change where none were yet taking place. The coal miners, due to their peasant and Indian origins, remained resigned to exploitation. In the past they had always submissively obeyed their patrón or their Indian chief (as discussed in Chapter IV); as yet they were not ready to rebel against exploitation.

Although Lillo describes the miners as a suffering crowd resigning themselves to an imposed destiny, he noticed the first individual outbreaks of rebellion, which were spontaneous reactions that the miner himself was unable to understand. In "El grisú", Viento Negro reacts spontaneously to the brutal treatment he receives at the hands of the foreign engineer, provoking an enormous explosion. These spontaneous rebellious outbreaks are individual and, in some cases, acts of personal heroism or desperation. Lillo does suggest that some of his characters are beginning to be aware of their condition as part

of a collective experience. For example the old miners in "Los inválidos", watching the extraction of a horse from the pit realize that their fate is similar to that of the horse which once was young and healthy and now was thrown out of the mine as a "useless machine". María de los Angeles in "EL Chiflón del Diablo" begins to doubt whether her fate is inevitable, yet she cannot understand "el por qué de aquellas odiosas desigualdades humanas que condenan a los pobres, al mayor número, a sudar sangre para sostener el fausto de la inútil existencia de unos pocos"(28) Also in "Los inválidos" Lillo refers to a miners' leader who addresses the other miners. He is clearly someone with political education ("siempre había en los bolsillos de su blusa algun libro desencuadrado y sucio cuya lectura absorbía sus horas de reposo") yet his ideas obviously remain opaque to the miners themselves who see him as remote and eccentric ("los viejos miraban con curiosidad a su compañero aguardando uno de esos discursos extraños e incomprensibles que brotaban a veces de sus labios de minero") and unrelated to them.(29) He is respected for his knowledge and wisdom, but his message is not yet understood by the miners through whose eyes he is described. Lillo, unable to describe this character, abandoned him in the first edition of Subterra.(30) At the time Lillo wrote this story, no such political leader had emerged in Chile. Some years later, in his unfinished novel, he was able to develop the character of the political leader who bore a strong resemblance to the then emerging working class organiser Luis Emilio Recabarren.



Lillo was able to represent in his short stories the scattered elements of the life of lonely miners in the isolation of the mine settlements and the reality lived by the mining population, as expressed in their own popular culture as described by Lillo in "Juan Fariña" and "La Barrena", and the recurring myths and legends on the one hand, and in the idioms, customs and superstitions found in the rest of the stories, on the other.(31) In these two last points of Lillo's mine stories, it is possible to appreciate the resemblance to Bret Harte's stories about the California mines, in the use of lonely people living on the fringes of society and the local colour as an important element of his stories.(32)

The social content of Lillo's stories is based on a description of the appalling misery and exploitation prevailing in the coal mining districts. Men, in Lillo's works, are exploited in conditions of extreme suffering. The short story "Los Inválidos" is used by Lillo to convey his feelings concerning the extreme social conditions of the miners. The horse that has spent most of its life towing heavy coal-laden trucks within the dark galleries of the pit serves as an image of the miners themselves. Once its useful life has been exhausted, the old beast is readily disposed of, blind and ill, and is left to die in the loneliness of the moors. In this story, Lillo depicts a group of old miners watching the lifting of the horse from the pit and, while doing so, they realize the symbolism of the scene; their own existence is reflected in the fate of the old beast. Much like the miners', the horse's skin, which at one

time had been soft, lustrous and jet black, now "había perdido su brillo acribillada por cicatrices sin cuento." (33) The old men had also been young and strong; now they were reduced to máquinas inservibles.

In "La Compuerta No. 12", Lillo describes the painful rite of presenting a child to the monstrous pit. An eight-year old boy taken by his father to start work in the mine, represents the paradigm of a normal occurrence in the labour conditions prevailing in the mining districts at the turn of the century. A large number of children were already doing hazardous work down the pits. Pablo, the new boy, is only going to take the place of "el hijo de José ... aplastado ayer por la corrida". On the way to his post, the notorious "compuerta No. 12", Pablo and his father meet another pale thin boy sitting next to his gate, in complete darkness and always in the same absorbed position who, "encargado de esa puerta, pasaba horas interminables de su encierro sumergido en un ensimismamiento doloroso, abrumado por aquella lápida que ahogó para siempre en él la inquieta y grácil movilidad de su infancia" (34). Pablo also has to remain in the pitch-dark gallery; he will have to open the gate at the precise moment when la corrida comes, and then close the gate behind it. (35) The child's terrified refusal compels the father to undertake the painful task of tying him to a pole.

In "La Huelga", Lillo describes another case of an eight-year old boy working in similarly terrible conditions at the nitrate mines in northern Chile. He was being held upside down cleaning a perforation from which the mineral is being

extracted; "blanco de polvo, los ojos inyectados de sangre y la cara congestionada, el pequeño era presa de un violento ataque de tos."(36) Children also appear in the story "El Grisú". When Mr. Davies, the Chief Engineer, inspects the mine, he is carried in a small cart which is pulled by two boys one of whom "...daba grandes muestras de cansancio, el cuerpo inundado de sudor y la expresión angustiosa de su semblante revelaba la fatiga de un esfuerzo muscular excesivo."(37)

Not only the very old or the very young are described in Lillo's works as the victims of inhuman working conditions. The able-bodied are also subjected to tasks beyond their capacity. This is a permanent feature in Lillo's perception of life in the mines; the mine is a monster demanding from its victims much more than they can possibly offer. In "El Pago", Pedro María has to keep working even though he is completely exhausted, labouring at a place with

"escasa ventilación (la cual) aumentaba sus fatigas, el aire cargado de impurezas, pesado, asfixiante, le producía ahogos y accesos de sofocación, y la altura de la labor, unos setenta centímetros escasos, sólo le permitía posturas incómodas que concluían por entumecer sus miembros..."(38)

Lillo also emphasises the additional alienating aspects of work in the mines. For example, in the case of the operator in "El Alma de la Máquina", although he seems to be placed in a privileged position, his work is most distressing for he has to control the lift of the pit with extreme accuracy because, as Lillo says, "un segundo de distracción significa una revolución

*más y el ascensor estrellándose arriba contra las poleas..." For this reason, the operator has to behave like a robot throughout the day.*

*Hard toil is not an exclusive occurrence down the pits; it is also present under "normal conditions". In the nitrate mines, unlike the coal-miners, nitrate workers do their work above ground. Here they have to face insufferable extreme heat. Lillo recounts that "de vez en cuando bocanadas de aire que parecen escapadas de un horno caliente, penetran en la excavación y abrazan los pulmones de los obreros con su hálito de fuego."(39)*

*In the coal-mining stories, Lillo presents his characters facing the most abject poverty. Although the miners do earn a wage, this is never sufficient to satisfy even their minimum needs. Because of their low wages, miners are forced to take their own children to the mine to start working at a very early age. In the mines, the earnings of each member of a family contribute to the total family income. As in "La Compuerta No. 12", when Pablo's father has some regrets about leaving his child abandoned in the total darkness of the gallery and attempts to withdraw him from the proposed job "... el recuerdo de su hogar y de los seres hambrientos y desnudos de los que él era el único sostén, y su vieja experiencia, le demostró lo insensato de su quimera..."(40)*

*Deprivation and hardship permeate the whole atmosphere of human and material relationships in Lillo's work. The lack of means to satisfy very basic needs, such as clothing and food, is*

illustrated in "El Pago", where Pedro María, after a day's hard work goes to sleep not having eaten any food at all, in a "...camastro arrimado a la pared, aquel nicho compuesto de cuatro tablas sobre dos banquillos y cubiertas por unos cuantos sacos" there "no tenía más abrigo que una manta deshilachada y sucia." (41) In the same story, Pedro María's wife "caminaba hundiendo sus desnudos pies en el lodo" followed by her children who, like herself, wore "harapos adheridos a sus carnes flácidas." In "El Chiflón del Diablo" and "El Grisú", when the crowd wait to see the bodies of the miners killed by the explosion, the whole mining community is described as a "ragged flock" in which "... las madres apretaban a sus pequeños hijos, envueltos en sucios harapos contra el seno semidesnudo."

The reasons why the miners are forced to work in the mine are explained in "El Chiflón del Diablo": the mine is the only source of employment for the whole population of the region. The surrounding countryside, which might have provided alternative employment, was an area without the resources to sustain its inhabitants and subject to violent seasonal changes and frequent natural disasters. As Lillo recounts, in such an environment it is extremely difficult to survive the all too frequent famines. Lillo asserts that

"en las chozas campesinas el hambre asomaba su pálida faz a través de los rostros de sus habitantes, quienes se veían obligados a llamar a las puertas de los talleres y de las fábricas en busca del pedazo de pan que les negaba el mustio suelo de las campiñas exhaustas." (42)

Lillo points to the lack of sanitary conditions prevailing in the miners' homes. In "El Chiflón del Diablo" the dwelling of the miner nicknamed "Cabeza de Cobre" is portrayed as the exception confirming the rule:- "... es un hogar humilde donde había cierta decencia y limpieza por lo común desusadas en esos albergues donde en promiscuidad alarmante se confundían hombres, mujeres, niños y una variedad tal de animales..."(43)

In the first chapter of his incomplete novel, La Huelga, the miners' dwellings are described as "...una ratonera (donde) el calor era intolerable. Del piso de tierra húmeda y salitrosa subía un vaho tenue, nauseabundo con los desperdicios de comida y basura que había en los rincones."(44)

In the coal mines accidents were a frequent occurrence due to the faulty construction and rapid deterioration of the wooden beams in the galleries. However, it was firedamp which claimed the largest number of victims in terrifying explosions like the one described in "El Grisú":

"...una llama azulada recorrió velozmente el combado techo del túnel y la masa de aire contenida entre sus muros se inflamó, convirtiéndose en una inmensa llamarada los cabellos y los trajes ardieron y una luz vivísima, de extraordinaria intensidad iluminó hasta los rincones más ocultos."(45)

In "El Chiflón del Diablo" and "Juan Fariña" there are similar descriptions of such explosions. At the sound of the sirens announcing an explosion, all the mine's population run terrified toward the pit. It is an animal-like crowd that yell and cry while waiting to confirm the likely suspicion that one of

their close relatives will be counted among the victims.

The aftermath of the explosions is a period of acute deprivation. The mineworkers have no insurance or any kind of social security to protect them and their families when misfortune strikes. In "El Chiflón del Diablo", María de los Angeles asks the young wife of a miner who had broken a leg while working: "...¿y hablaste hija, con los jefes? ¿Te han dado algún socorro?" The reply is:

"Sí, estuve allá; me dijeron que no tenía derecho a nada, que bastante hacían con darnos el cuarto, pero que si se moría fuera a buscar una orden para que en el despacho me entregaran cuatro velas y una mortaja."(46)

Miners had to work long hours. Lillo states in "El Alma de la Máquina" that the lift operator worked for twelve hours, arriving at his work-place before the miners and remaining beside his machine till after the last miner had left, so that "... la silueta del maquinista se destaca desde el amanecer hasta la noche en lo alto de la plataforma de la máquina." Miners' life, therefore, is a life - literally - spent in obscurity.

As to miners' wages, they were not only low but the way in which the payment operated made them even lower. Under the prevailing truck system, miners' wages were paid in fichas salario, or token notes which could only be exchanged for goods at the pulpería, the mine's grocery shop. There, goods were more expensive than at the village shops and, therefore, the miners always got deeper into debt, debt which was discounted from their next wage. As Lillo describes it, "... el pago de los jornales..

era en general sumas reducidas pues se limitaban al saldo que quedaba después de deducir el valor del aceite, carbón, multas y el total de lo consumido en el despacho."(47)

The reaction of the miners toward this established exploitation is expressed in different ways. Some become resigned to pessimism, as in "El Pago" or in "El Chiflón del Diablo"; others will express their grief in individual outbursts of anger shouting at their bosses, as happens in the case of the widow in "El Pago". In extreme cases, when miners are provoked to the limit, as in "El Grisú" and "Juan Fariña", their anger can lead to total destruction in a desperate attempt to achieve satisfaction, even at the expense of their own lives.

At the other end of the social structure, bosses are depicted as arrogant beings treating the miners like animals. "Mr. Davies" of "El Grisú" is portrayed as "... duro e inflexible, su trato con el obrero desconocía la piedad ... su pasividad de bestias le parecía un deber cuyo olvido debía castigarse."

Paradoxically, in this world of common suffering, where one would expect friendship and solidarity amongst the exploited to prevail, there is still room for rivalry among the workers. In some cases, such rivalries can be a reflection of a generational conflict, as in "El Grisú" where the eldest miner blames the youngsters:- "... y la culpa la tienen ustedes y nadie más que ustedes tienen la culpa porque revientan trabajando y nos hacen trabajar a todos."(48) Doubtless, this was a rivalry engendered



by the competitive way in which workloads were organised. At other times, rivalry can be the product of human passions, as in "El Pozo" and "Sobre el Abismo", where jealousy between two young miners who love the same girl forms the core of the plot.

When Lillo wrote these mining stories, mining settlements existed as units marginalised from the social and economic life of the cities. There were not yet workers organisations on a national level, but only spontaneous outbreaks of rebellion and disorganised protests which were violently repressed by the police. This is the moment, according to Lukacs, of the "Not Yet".(49) Through these short stories Lillo represented scattered elements of the mining reality. He wrote about the people who lived on the fringes of society, isolated and lonely, and who were socially and historically disconnected from the life of the cities. Also Lillo represented their own popular culture, which was the reality lived by the miners. For this reason his protagonists could not be transformed from type to character, because they were devoid of the self-consciousness that could allow them to conquer a fate whose victims they continued to be; they were not yet able to become the masters of their own destiny.

#### b) Purely imaginative prose

Four short stories come under this heading: "El Rapto del Sol", "Las Nieves Eternas" "Irredención" and "El Oro". In "El Rapto del Sol", Lillo narrates how an arrogant king has managed to capture the sun in order to become the master of the whole

universe. With the sun trapped, everything falls into the realm of darkness which causes the demise of all living creatures. When all beings are on the verge of extinction, the caring goodwill toward the selfish king shown by his humble subjects provokes a communion of charity and love from which a new mankind emerges.

"Nieves Eternas" is a moral allegory grafted into a naturalistic structure which describes the journey of a drop of water, from the high mountains to the ocean. The drop emerges from a molecule of snow freed by the sun and transformed into a drop of water which, again selfish and arrogant, refuses to care for the thirsty flowers and birds it meets on its journey. The drop of water is finally sent back to the high mountain by the force of the wind and, in punishment for its vanity and selfishness, becomes a piece of eternal snow.

In "Irredención", a fatuous princess has given a party in a hall lavishly decorated with peach blossom. The story is mainly concerned with the princess' nightmare when the feast is over. In her dream she is killed by the trees in her own garden. She then reports herself to the Supreme Judge who condemns her to everlasting torment in hell because, in her vanity, she has stopped the process of life by cutting the peach blossom. She wakes up in panic, covered with peach blossom.

In "El Oro", the sun has lost one of its rays which has fallen onto the mountains of the earth. Despite the efforts of an eagle to return the ray to the sun, the latter remains on the

earth provoking the greed and ambition of men seeking immortality by seizing the stranded ray. Many of those who dare to touch the ray are transformed into gold dust which, blended with mud and soil, remains inside the mountains. The ray itself also sinks into the bottom of the mountains leaving behind a further trail of golden dust. Such was the origin of gold. The eagle is further saddened by noticing that, while the ray decides to remain on the earth, Love leaves the planet and flies to the infinite. Down on earth, men are "ocupados en extraer de la tierra y del fondo de las aguas un polvo amarillo, rubio como las espigas, cuyo contacto infiltraba en sus venas un fuego desconocido."(50)

In these Modernista stories Lillo's concern for the moral loss of his society becomes visible; as he symbolically expresses it in "El Oro", man, in his thirst for riches, loses positive values; in "Nieves Eternas", man, due to materialistic ambition, became selfish, arrogant, lacking in pity; in "Irredención", vanity blinds man to the suffering around him, or that he causes. Lillo suggests as the only solution the rebirth of a new humanity in which positive values should be present. As he suggests in "El rapto del sol", that can only happen when class differences are overcome, and the new society is collectively organised. This reflects an idealism similar to the Utopian position of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, proposing "the removal of class distinction ... They do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once." (51)

### c) The sea stories

Seven short stories are grouped in this section: "El Ahogado", "El Remolque", "Sub Sole", "La Ballena", "El Hallazgo", "El Anillo" and "La Zambullón". Most of these stories reveal the sudden psychological change that the brutal force of natural elements can cause in human beings. In "El Remolque" for instance, the skipper of a tugboat, described as a warm-hearted man and well loved by his crew, suddenly becomes very violent in his behaviour, under the pressure of circumstances. As a storm develops and worsens, it becomes necessary to cut the ropes linking his boat to the other vessel that is being towed. However, his son is on that other vessel which, if abandoned, is doomed to be wrecked. The skipper goes completely out of his mind trying to kill the seamen who are cutting the ropes.

A different transformation is undergone by Teresa in "La Zambullón". Here, the fisherwoman becomes the heroine who saves a boat about to be wrecked by the storm. In "El Hallazgo", Miguel, another fisherman, has to struggle fiercely against the heavy current that drags his boat, together with the whale he has found, onto the reef. After rowing for hours he reaches safer waters and even manages to tow the whale. However, in that moment of wild success, the owners of the whale turn up and dispossess him of his booty.

In the short story "Sub Sole", a terrible accident happens to Cipriana. Her hand is trapped in a hole among the rocks of the foreshore where she is trying to pick out a sea shell for her

son. Her imminent death slowly approaches with the rising of the tide. The story is a contrast between the immutability of time and space and the intense agony of the woman. A similar contrast is found in "El Ahogado" where Sebastián, in his crazed flight, believing that the man he left to drown in the sea is still following him, himself falls into a dangerous current and is drowned. The violent human episode contrasts with the parallel description of an impassive natural surrounding.

In "La Ballena", Lillo narrates the capture of a whale which provides a source of great enjoyment for the expectant villagers who follow closely the pursuit of the whale throughout all its vicissitudes. Although Lillo does sympathize with the enthusiasm of the villagers, the tone of his description seems to spare some thoughts for the baby whale and its captured mother:

"El cetáceo y su pequeñuelo después de recorrer el contorno de la bahía desde las rompientes a la barra, seducidos talvez por la tibieza de las ondas, escogen ese tranquilo rincón para campo de sus juegos, entregándose confiados y retozones a una serie de saltos, volteretas, zambullidas y otras proezas natatorias. La lisa y oscura piel de ambos, abrigada por el agua y el sol, lanza reflejos de acero empavonados y los ojos juveniles y codiciosos que contemplan las dimensiones gigantescas de la madre, calculan mentalmente el espesor de la grasa y los barriles de aceite que una vez derretida producirá."(52)

"El Anillo" is a traditional story. Its plot differs from the first stories and enters the realm of legend. Here, a young husband has drowned and his corpse cannot be found. Two years later the widow's fiancé also drowns while swimming in the same

spot. When his body is rescued, there is on his finger a ring that the former husband was wearing when he disappeared in the sea. Lillo provides a rationalistic epilogue to this story by explaining what had really happened.

In these sea stories Lillo presents the individual tragedy of lonely people isolated from society, fighting ferociously against an inexorable, menacing nature; as in "Subsole" and "El ahogado". While in the stories "La ballena" and "El remolque" a group fights the sea-storm in the isolation of the ocean, in "La Zambullón" and "El hallazgo", however, the life of a community is presented at the beginning of the story, but once again the denouement is the ferocious fight for survival of the principal character, in the midst of a tempestuous sea.

#### d) Short stories in an urban context

The stories included in this section are "En el Conventillo", "Las Niñas", "La Propina", "Tienda y Trastienda", "Víspera de Difuntos", "Era él solo", "Pesquisa Trágica", "Calabozo No. 5", "Carlitos", "Mis Vecinos" and "La Carga". These stories show how rapid changes within the social and economic structure can affect the psychology of those individuals who are incapable of adapting themselves to that particular moment in history. Lillo's view of these changes implies that the emergence of an urban society can produce a high degree of alienation giving rise to various types of psychological malaise such as sadism, masochism and other mental disorders.

The best example of social deprivation is found in "En el

Conventillo" where poverty generates insufferable living conditions for Sabina and her children. This story is mainly a description of life in the slums of Santiago. Sabina and Jacinta in "Carlitos" are miserable washerwomen who have to toil for a few cents. In the latter case, however, when the husband was not on a drinking bout, "... la familia disfrutaba de cierta holgura", but such occasions were rare and did not last long.

Problems of status and social disruption are the subjects of stories such as "Las Niñas" and "La Propina". In the first story, two peasant sisters wastefully dispose of a large inheritance and inevitably reach a state of poverty which they are at pains to hide. Mounting economic and social pressures force them to leave town and to live in a conventillo, a miserable tenement on the fringe of the town, where they pretend to be distinguished ladies although in fact they are starving.

"La Propina" describes all the efforts made by De Palomares, a young shop assistant, to climb the social ladder by means of a well calculated marriage. When he gets close to becoming an acquaintance of "... la linajuda Doña Petronila de los Arroyos", he finds what he thinks is a much better opportunity when an Englishman and his daughter invite De Palomares to join them in their tour around the world. The story clearly reflects the scale of values of a social climber.

In "Mis Vecinos", as well as in "Tienda y Trastienda", Lillo's irony becomes apparent. He shows the cynicism of the middle class men and similar characters in the nascent

capitalistic city. In "Mis Vecinos", a large family takes advantage of the prevailing trend of rising industries and factories and instals an imaginary factory which they call "La Montaña de Oro - Fábrica de Biombos y Telones". Such a pompous name attracts travelling salesmen who leave their goods on credit, but the accounts are never settled.

"Tienda y Trastienda" is the story of the sly shopkeeper nicknamed "Pirayán". Such a nickname, derived from "piranha", the notorious Amazonian flesh-eating fish, gives an immediate idea of what this man's behaviour is like. The story is a sequence of mischievous tricks played by Pirayán on his employees and customers.

Stories such as "La Carga", "Víspera de Difuntos", "Era él sólo" and "Pesquisa Trágica" present Lillo's view that people in towns lose their 'natural humanism' and become máquinas incapable of affection or solidarity inserted into an atmosphere of collective deception and ruthlessness. This is seen, for instance, in "La Carga" where a militiaman forgets his human feelings and kills people of his own kind. Lillo explains: "Pero él no delibera, no piensa. La férrea disciplina rompió el lazo de solidaridad con los suyos y ahogó en su corazón todo el sentimiento que no sea el de obediencia pasiva."(53)

In "Víspera de Difuntos" Lillo provides a picture of the psychological alienation of a woman who ill-treats the girl she has promised to look after. The woman herself describes her madness: "...su humildad, su llanto ... me exasperaba; fuera de



mí cogíala a veces por los cabellos y la arrastraba por el cuarto azotándola contra las paredes y contra los muebles."(54) A similar sadistic attitude is found in "Era él solo" in the woman who is in charge of an orphan whom she treats like a slave in the colonial house of a childless widow. The main idea that Lillo conveys in this story is the cynicism of a religious woman who, ironically, talks of God while ill-treating the boy.

In "Calabozo No. 5" and "Pesquisa Trágica" there are further examples of the brutality of men in authority. In the first story, a young prisoner who in a rage hits the deputy governor of the prison is sent to the "calabozo No. 5", a common cell where convicts suffering from terminal tuberculosis have been abandoned. Obviously, the prisoner himself dies later from the disease. Here again, the deputy governor, like the woman in "Era él solo", has an ambivalent attitude: on the one hand, he punishes his prisoner viciously, on the other, he appears in front of his friends and relations as an "educated and kind person."

The plot in "La Pesquisa Trágica" is not altogether different from that of the other stories, although perhaps more bizarre. An ignorant man is appointed chief of the rural police and, being extremely ambitious, tries to obtain promotion by solving with the utmost speed a crime committed in his area. He manages to imprison the suspected murderer and makes strenuous efforts to force the man to confess. Unconscious as a result of torture, the prisoner is tied to the body of his alleged victim. The man supposedly murdered, however, is not dead. In fact, he

has only suffered an epileptic attack and, while he is tied to the prisoner, regains conscious<sup>ness</sup> and kills the suspect.

Lillo mentions through these stories representative elements of the urban reality. He describes individuals marginalised by their own choice as a result of their commercial zeal, as in "Tienda y trastienda" and in "Mis vecinos"; social parvenus as in "Las niñas" and "La propina"; people who lead a life of corruption and abuse their authority as in "La pesquisa trágica" and "El calabozo No. 5"; religious women psychologically alienated as in "Era él solo" and "Víspera de difuntos"; the militia men who, due to rigorous military discipline, become unable to oppose the order to kill their own, as in "La carga", etc. They are all representative elements of a city in transition.

#### e) Stories of the countryside

There are fourteen stories which are set against the same rural background. These also have certain structural similarities. They are "El Vagabundo", "La Chascuda", "Quilapán", "La Trampa", "El Perfil", "El Angelito", "En la Rueda", "Inamible", "La Cruz de Salomón", "Caza Mayor", "Cañuela y Petaca", "Malvavisco", "Cambiadores" and "La Mano Pegada". The social structure of the countryside is clearly delineated in most of these stories. The landowner or Patrón is the paternalistic feudal master who has inherited the right to rule and administer justice. His "serfs", mozos, inquilinos and, in general, all the people who inhabit his dominion, are subordinated to his

authority. Nevertheless, there are also instances where men insist on maintaining their independence and their beliefs, however superstitious these might be.

In "El Vagabundo", Don Simón, the master, thinks that it is his duty to unmask an old beggar who has led the peasants to believe the story about his hand getting stuck to his body by divine condemnation. The Patrón Don Simón attempts to punish the beggar and put an end to these superstitions, but all his efforts are fruitless. Another landowner in "Quilapán", thanks to his privileged status, usurps the land of an Indian peasant and evicts him with his family. The clearance is described even in its minor details. Yet another landowner in "La Trampa", using a horrible trap, leaves a cattle robber maimed for life.

As in the urban stories previously described, the countryside stories also reflect the existence of primitive instincts such as aggressive criminal reactions, cruelty and even the sadistic enjoyment of watching the suffering of beasts and human beings. For instance, in "El Perfil", Luis is a young man who develops a close relationship with a hard working family who own a small grocery shop. A conflict between loyalty and material ambition is resolved in favour of the latter when Luis, having heard that a large sum of money is being kept overnight within the shop, seeks the help of some accomplices and obtains the money, but not before killing the owners, leaving their daughter, who was Luis' own girlfriend, in a demented state.

In "La Cruz de Salomón", two men who court the same girl

challenge each other to a duel. The victor is a cruel man who, after some years returns to the village where his rival used to live. At a gathering of peasants he boasts to the villagers about the way in which he killed his victim. In the audience is the victim's son who recognizes the killer of his father and, taking only seconds to react, "... veloz como el rayo sepultó el puñal en el pecho de su dueño, que rodó bajo la silla sin exhalar un gemido."(55)

In the story "La Chascuda", the "chascuda" (the dishevelled phantom), according to the peasants, is a ghost with long arms and legs, whose body was covered by reddish fur, while its head was divided into two halves, one as a man's face white and neat, and the other half as a woman with untidy black hair. This monstrous ghost appeared on dark nights in the narrow place where a big old tree stood. At the beginning, the alleged ghost only robbed his victims, but when the first death happens, a sinister trap is laid to capture the ghost, which turns out to be a man who dies in the trap.

In "En la Rueda", an enthusiastic audience watch a bloody cockfight. Lillo describes in a very detailed way the fight itself, the peaceful surroundings, the betting and the mad reactions of the public. Lillo describes: "las brillantes armaduras tan lisas y bruñidas al empezar el torneo estaban ahora rotas y desordenadas, cubiertas de una viscosa capa de lodo y sangre, más el furibundo ardor del que estaban poseídos [los espectadores] no disminuía un solo instante."(56)

"El Angelito" is a strange story of human contrasts. It occurs during the vigil being kept around the bed of an infant who has recently passed away. For the local people, however, the occasion is not for mourning. They are in a festive mood that changes the character of the party where, "... a medida que los efectos de la embriaguez iban acentuándose, la animación y el bullicio crecían en proporción ascendente."(57)

Lillo wrote three stories based on hunting and each of them shows a different humanitarian concern of the writer. "Caza Mayor" is the story of an old man forced to hunt simply because otherwise he would die of hunger. Survival, therefore, justifies the primitive way of obtaining food and even then, the result hardly satisfies the old man's most urgent needs. In "Cañuela y Petaca", hunting is merely a dangerous children's game which turns out to be extremely funny. For instance, when Petaca is about to shoot a bird with a gun he forgot to load, Cañuela hastens to shout "¡Espera que no está cargada hombre!". The shout scares the bird away and Petaca, carried away by his anger, hits Cañuela and replies:- ¿Porqué no esperaste que saliese el tiro?" The third story on hunting, "Malvavisco", offers a purely joyful description of an old man hunting pigeons.

"Inamible" is clearly a humorous story. El Guarén, the main character, represents a kind of Chilean Quixote trying very hard to be a good civil servant; his devoted sense of duty makes him fall into a series of embarrassing situations. In the story "Cambiadores", that at times resembles "El alma de la máquina",

Lillo seeks to emphasize how due to exploitation, men become machines and suggests that if the work has to be done with extreme concentration workers should be provided with a better living standard.

In these peasant stories Lillo describes individuals who frequently lived isolated in the countryside or in the mountains; for example in "El vagabundo" Don Paico is the tramp who goes around the country living on alms, but does not belong to any community. In "Quilapán", however, Lillo describes a new reality lived by the Indian at the turn of the century; ejection from their ancestral home by landowners under government protection. Also a new element are the robber bands and cattle rustlers mentioned in "El perfil", "La trampa", "La Chascuda", "El angelito" who, helped by the superstitious credulity of the peasants, attack and rob small rural villages. In "Caza mayor" the fight for survival of the old peasant El Palomo is a new fact taking place in the haciendas. In "El alma de la máquina" another element is described: the machine, little by little, acquires a life of its own and transforms the worker into another machine. In "Malvavisco", "El vagabundo" and "Inamible", Lillo describes a popular element: the typical peasant who uses his own ingenuity to gain personal advantage. In all these stories Lillo also presents the transformed Patrón who not long ago was paternalistic, but who now openly exploits the innocent and submissive peasants.

A reading of the totality of Lillo's work makes it possible to appreciate the representative elements of the Chilean reality

(at the turn of the century) which are the main theme of his stories. Lillo presents elements of a reality in transition, as for example the social discontent that began to be apparent in cities and coal mines expressed through isolated protests, or spontaneous rebellious outbreaks without organisation; workers being unable to understand yet that they were living a collective situation; the government favouring the abuses of authority and property. Bands of thieves and cattle rustlers abound and reflect that in those isolated countryside areas justice cannot properly function; the patrón of the hacienda imparts justice at his own will, punishing the peasants with cruelty.

This is the moment when capitalism began to develop in Chile. It is a transitional period or a "Not Yet" phase as Lukacs put it.(58) It is a period when the essentially connected nature of social phenomena is not yet visible, when the relationship between them has not been perceived and thus not developed into a general theory which can see how society operates as a whole. Without such an understanding of the global relationship between the individual experience and social existence, the organising principle of the novel, according to Lukacs - what he describes as the sense of totality - is thus absent. In such a moment the short story provides a spectrum of individual experiences. This is the moment, as Lukacs affirms, when the short story appears, as happened with Lillo's work.(59) Thus in his stories the characteristics of short stories enunciated by O'Connor are found: Lillo's characters are isolated beings who tragically face powerful nature, or isolated

individuals marginalised from society. All of them, as individuals, show that "intense awareness of human loneliness" and the "sense of outlawed figures wandering about the fringes of society." (60) Lillo's characters, creatures of a society in transition, exist in a kind of suspension between a traditional culture that still offers some reassurance and security, and a menacing future which offers nothing. Lillo's people live with this limited consciousness between worlds, in the moments before an understanding of the nature of the new society makes it possible to discover new responses and new forms of organisation.



### CHAPTER III

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#### INTERPRETATION OF LILLO'S WORKS

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##### INTRODUCTION

Although Lillo's first literary work was a poem, and his last an aborted novel, he was a short story writer 'par excellence', and he is indeed one of the best exponents of that literary genre in Chile.(1) His short stories are good examples of prose fiction, relatively brief, and producing one effect only. Being so, they fit perfectly within the pattern of the short story.

However difficult it may prove, it will be necessary for the purposes of analysis to define the short story as a literary genre. Many authors have suggested that the short story represents a primitive form of art which is only one step away from story telling.(2) Insofar as it represents in a natural way an attitude to life, it can embody the most direct approach to reality of all literary forms. The relationship between reality and imagination depends largely on the writer himself who can establish the rules of his own work, and it also depends on the prevailing literary currents of his times.

In analysing the short story, many critics have succumbed to the fascination of the form and have neglected its content. In doing so, they tend to define the short story by its brevity and the definition they propose is an elaboration of the simple

tautology that the short story is a "short" story. Examples of this are to be found in numerous introductions to short-story anthologies. Raúl Silva Castro, for instance, defines the short story as "el breve relato de anécdotas en que suelen referirse pequeñas aventuras y episodios." (3) A similar definition is given by Seymour Menton who also imposes the absurd condition that the short story should be a narration that "can be read in less than an hour". (4)

It is true that length is an important consideration when defining the character of the short story as a literary form. But it is the scope and the purpose of the narration that determines its length. If a singular fact can be isolated and integrated into a self-contained piece of prose, then it can be called a short story. In this respect Juan Bosch has shown that there is "an essential connection between scope and length, logically pointing out that brevity, long held as a fundamental law for the short story, is a natural consequence of the essence of the genre rather than a requisite of form; the story is brief because it is limited to one 'happening' and as long as all aspects of the story are directly related to this happening, presenting a unity, the story is short, no matter what the number of pages." (5)

The short story developed very slowly in Chile during the nineteenth century. The only type of brief literary composition that merit consideration is the cuadro de costumbres, a brief prose sketch depicting human types and customs in mid-century Chilean society. The short story proper as a literary technique

began to be cultivated at the turn of the century when literary contests, polemics and the appearance of new magazines and periodicals stimulated the emergence of short story writers.(6)

The sudden emergence of the short story in Chile tends to confirm the idea that there is a relationship between the social context and the prevailing literary form. The political and economic instability that Chile was undergoing at the turn of the century when the old established ruling class began to lose its undisputed monopoly of power and found itself confronted with internal divisions, and with the appearance of new middle and working class sectors, produced a sense of perplexity among those who witnessed the changes. The writers themselves were unable to understand the wider national situation and they preferred to concentrate on specific issues and motifs that could be better expressed in poems or in short stories. Perhaps there is a similarity between this epoch in Chile and the contemporary period of transition in Russia when Maxim Gorky wrote his short stories.(7)

This period of confusion and perplexity saw the emergence of Baldomero Lillo. Although there is a profusion of short stories written by other contemporary authors, Lillo's achievement relies on a combination of his own intuition and cultural background with the literary tendencies that were in vogue, a combination which responds not only to the current state of the literary art, but also to the need to reflect in his stories the confusion and complexity of his times. As Leonard Franklin has said, "Lillo portrays the existential state of estrangement not only through

the generalized atmosphere of universal malaise that accompanies the estranged condition, but also and especially through the particular acts and attitudes of his personages." This might explain the influence, thematic as well as structural, of Poe, whose characters also occupy that 'world of shadows'. In other words; Lillo's characters possess that "sense of outlawed figures wandering about the fringes of society", which O'Connor states to be the main characteristic of the short story, together with "the intense awareness of human loneliness". This is apparent particularly in Lillo's mining stories which are populated by hopeless people toiling in extreme misery.(8)

#### 1. STRUCTURE OF LILLO'S STORIES

Most of Lillo's short stories have a strong documentary character based on his own direct observation of his immediate surroundings and on the use of local legends, traditional tales and folklore. Lillo's vision of man is not merely a succession of facts but also a complex world of ideas and beliefs that go beyond the historical existence of the characters concerned to reflect the whole culture of the Chilean people; yet that complexity is expressed in a language that is simple and direct.

The structure of Lillo's narrative normally follows a strictly chronological sequence of facts, though this linear development is occasionally interrupted by flashbacks used either to clarify the plot or to freeze the action at a given stage.(9) In most stories, the development of the narrative follows classical lines, with a three-part structure - introduction,

development and denouement.

His introductions are brief and direct. Lillo uses the first lines of the narrative to present the protagonists and describe summarily the scene of the action. In extreme examples the introduction can be reduced to a single line after which the main argument is rapidly developed. In all cases the protagonist is portrayed as a projection of the scenery - man as a product of his circumstance - particularly in the tales set in the coal mines, where the dark, gigantic pit, like the "satanic mills" of the Industrial Revolution, shapes the life and behaviour of men and beasts. In "Los Inválidos", the opening words "La extracción de un caballo de la mina..." take for granted that the animal being drawn out of the entrails of the mine has been transfigured by the natural mutation affecting all creatures working under the ground.

Something similar happens in "El Pago" where Pedro María, "... con las piernas encogidas, acostado sobre el lado derecho, trazaba a golpes de piqueta, un corte." The pit not only conditions the economic and social status of the miners but also their physical appearance.

Several other stories are similarly introduced by very brief preliminary sentences relating to the main character involved. In "El rapto del Sol", the ritual words "Hubo una vez un rey tan poderoso que se enseñoreó de toda la tierra..." is all that we have by way of introduction. In "Inamible", the only explanatory concession regarding the character and the background is the

announcement that "Ruperto Tapia, alias 'El Guarén', guardián tercero de la policía comunal, iba y venía por el centro de la bocacalle."

In other cases, the introduction is based on formal descriptions of the surrounding environment, as the initial steps towards the tragic plot. In "El Chiflón del Diablo", where the whole plot is based on the conditions imposed by the environment, the introduction begins with the words "Por el hueco de la puerta se veía el ascensor aguardando su carga humana que una vez completa desaparecía con ella, callada y rápida, por la húmeda abertura del pique."(10)

There are cases where the introduction is presented as a symbolic contrast to the plot, e.g. in "En la rueda" it is said that "... en el fondo del patio en un espacio descubierto bajo un toldo de duraznos y perales en flor estaba la rueda." The beauty of the trees in bloom is ironically presented in opposition to the sinister cockfight pit.

After the introduction comes the development of whatever is to form the core of the story. Sometimes additional information regarding the main characters outlined in the introduction is given at this stage, or scattered through the text of the story. In "Caza mayor", the first information given is that "El Palomo", the main character involved, is "un viejecillo pequeño y seco como una avellana"; then, going further into the next paragraph, we find that "El Palomo" is "solo, sin deudos que amparen su desvalida ancianidad, [quien] con el producto de la caza

satisface apenas sus premiosas necesidades.(11)

A better example is found in "El pozo". The central theme of the story is rapidly developed to the point where some terrible catastrophe or psychological transformation heralds the denouement - although the action may at times be held up to increase the suspense, to provide additional information, or to introduce secondary characters. Dialogue is used only rarely to speed up the action. References to the landscape or to climatic conditions are normally used to emphasize the contrast between the beauty of nature and the horrific events being described. In "El Ahogado", for example, at a critical moment, "...todo lo que mira Sebastián se transforma al punto en algo extravagante... De súbito un halcón marino se precipita de lo alto y se hunde en el agua, a pocos metros del arrecife..."(12)

In "Víspera de Difuntos" Lillo resorts to flashbacks while the woman talks about the terrible murder she has committed; at a given moment, almost imperceptibly, the flashback takes over the story and, as it were, it is actual time that is put between parentheses. Simultaneously, the narrative contains brief digressions on the environment and the action of the elements, as in "Víspera de difuntos":- "(La ventolina parecía decrecer y el ruido del mar sonaba más claro y distinto, entre los tardíos intervalos de las ráfagas.)"(13)

In "La Compuerta No. 12", the unfolding of events is stopped by the description of the child sitting beside one of the gallery gates doing the same work that Pablo should in turn do at gate

No. 12.

Clearly, then, Lillo employs a limited variety of literary resources in the development of the main plot, although this has a positive effect in conveying the main theme more forcibly to the reader.

The conclusion or denouement in Lillo's stories exhibits little variation. Sometimes the ending of a story is made obvious; it may even be explicitly anticipated in the course of the narrative. For example, very early in "La Compuerta No. 12", it is anticipated that "Pablo reemplazará al hijo del carretillero muerto ayer por la corrida". Similarly, in "El Chiflón del Diablo", 'Cabeza de Cobre' ('Gingerhead') is forced to work at the new gallery where many fatal accidents have already occurred. This fact is remarked upon beforehand, anticipating the outcome of the story.(14)

In other cases, the accelerated action is suddenly interrupted by a tremendous accident. Then a final paragraph set apart from the main text - sometimes even typographically - refers to an imperturbable nature continuing its normal cycle. An instance of this is found in "El Ahogado" where Sebastián, in his demented flight, has finally fallen into the sea. Yet in the final paragraph, it is the calm environment and the slow course of time that is underlined:-

"Mientras el sol distánciase cada vez más de la cima de los acantilados, el bote se aproxima con lentitud a la playa, sacudido por el espumoso oleaje sobre el cual los halcones del océano se deslizan silenciosos,



*escudriñando las profundidades."*(15)

There are cases where the ending, although isolated from the rest of the story, refers back to an earlier tragic death which is now linked to yet another death, as in "El Chiflón del Diablo", "Era él solo", "El Vagabundo", etc. Another variant of the ending is presented in "Quilapán", which describes in the form of a postscript the subsequent death of the Indian Quilapán who had been evicted from his domain.

Death, and its varied symbolism, is frequently present at the conclusion of Lillo's short stories. In "Irredención", for example, the last lines sound like an aphorism: "Ya lo sabía yo, dormir con flores es como dormir con muertos, se tienen pesadillas horribles." The image of death, or its proximity, is also present in the denouement of "El Calabozo No. 5", in a paragraph full of foreboding:-

*"... y mientras el ronco estertor del moribundo llenaba la siniestra sala, la luz fría y cenicienta que se filtraba por los empolvados tragaluces hacía resaltar en el blanco muro los brazos descarnados de la cruz negra enorme como símbolo del eterno crimen."*(16)

The language used by Lillo in these endings can incorporate a moral and religious content borrowed from the "Cantos a lo Divino", a major constituent of Chilean folklore, e.g. the symbol of the crucifixion as "an eternal symbol of the crime" to which we have already referred.(17)

The stories taken from traditional folk tales tend to have a

different structure; in the legend of "Juan Fariña", for example, the text is written in the form of a direct description. In the first place the introduction describes at length the landscape; then the main character is summarily sketched as "...un hombre ...de elevada estatura ... [cuya] mano derecha empuñaba un bastón con el que tanteaba el terreno." Thereafter the main plot develops around the formidable explosion that has buried the coal mine. The story concludes with an explanation: the events described did take place in the past and have been transformed into a legend whose actual facts are still remembered and retold by the locals. "El Anillo" is also a story based on a legend with supernatural features, though Lillo in the end provides a rational explanation of what really happened.

The remaining traditional tales have a different structure. In "El Remolque", "La Chascuda" and "La Barrena" a narrator tells the story, then, through flashbacks, the main argument is developed and, in the end, there is a return to present time.

## 2. LILLO AND THE LITERARY TENDENCIES OF HIS TIME

Both the environment or milieu, and the contemporary intellectual background of a writer are important factors in shaping the stylistic forms of his literary creation. In the case of Lillo it comes as no surprise that his work cannot properly be ascribed to any one literary tendency. It is more appropriate to suggest that the full range of contemporary literary trends had a bearing on his work; for in Lillo's time a number of equally strong tendencies coexisted, i.e. Realism,

Naturalism and Modernismo, disputing the attention of the Chilean intellectuals. Rafael Lapesa has said that "a través del trabajo de un escritor se aprecian las diversas escuelas que conviven en una misma época." (18) When one surveys Lillo's work, Lapesa's assertion appears as a truism.

In the following pages we shall attempt to identify and trace the presence of these three main tendencies, which are combined in Lillo's work. Instead of singling out a predominant influence, the enquiry rather suggests that several literary trends combined with Lillo's own culture and experience (the culture of his people and his nation) to give rise to a form of Criollismo which must be regarded as a literary expression in its own right.

#### a) Realism in Lillo's work

If we are to understand Realism as an objective representation of contemporary social reality, then Lillo would appear to have been a Realist throughout his literary career. His objectivity was aided by the fact that he wrote about the world he knew best through experience: the life of the miners, fishermen, peasants, Indians and urban workers. Just as his own life was affected by the transformation taking place in society, he noticed also the way in which working and living conditions had changed dramatically by the turn of the century. The initial compulsion to write may well have come from the ignorance of that reality which he found among his contemporaries in Santiago. A

comment by Andrés Sabella might be deemed to reinforce this idea:

"Es tan feroz la realidad del carbón que él ha vivido, que (a Lillo) le basta con sólo contarla con escueto realismo, sin agregarle pompones demagógicos, ni verterle 'segundas intenciones'. Lo que persigue es sencillo, profundo, humano: alertarnos sobre esta vida en que los hombres y bestias comparten una misma cuota de explotación y desprecio, aproximarnos a estos chilenos para quienes pide con nobleza un apoyo de justicia social. Es el instante en que el proletariado chileno comienza a enriquecerse de conciencia clasista, y las futuras masacres despuntan en las primeras banderas rebeldes de la pampa."(19)

Volodia Teitelboim has stated that Lillo "... describe en escenas verídicas una sombría realidad de nuestro país y de todo el mundo capitalista: la explotación inhumana y oscura del obrero del carbón."(20) It should be added that Lillo was not only concerned with the denunciation of the appalling conditions of the miners but also those of other workers in different regions.

Lillo did notice the emergence of a new social class - the proletariat - and he bears witness to the process whereby workers acquire a social consciousness that puts them at loggerheads with the establishment. Some of his short stories explicitly reflect such social conflict and the lucid way in which some workers perceive the changes that are taking place. Some of his characters, such as Viento Negro of "El Grisú" and the old miner in "Los Inválidos" are instances of this process. On the other hand, the truthfulness of his Realist approach does not allow him to idealise the figure of the worker. He sees the worker not as the heroic protagonist who experiences the brunt of exploitation

but simply as a victim in a much wider sense. The exploited can be the children forced either to earn their own living or to be used as a source of income for the family as a whole. More often, the exploited one will be the woman, left to face the harsh reality whilst the man, a weaker victim of alienation, bets his life away on the illusions of horse-racing and cock fights or immerses himself in vice, spending his meagre earnings on drink or at the casas de entreteniciones. The short story "En el Conventillo" offers a clear instance of this situation and adds a description of the urban 'milieu' in which the poor live in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions.

Abuse of power is another topic of Lillo's depiction of reality. For example, in "Calabozo Número 5", he describes the criminal punishment administered to a prisoner by a warden when the convict raises his voice because of the inedible food served in the prison. In "Pesquisa Trágica" there is a similar situation where a police chief, in his attempt to strengthen his authority among some villagers, wrongly arrests a man whom he suspects of being a murderer and indirectly causes the death of the innocent prisoner.

Lillo was the first Chilean writer to introduce such themes. They were mainly a product of his own experience which was enriched by Realist influences and reinforced by the changes that were simultaneously taking place in Chilean society at the turn of the century. He interpreted the emerging capitalist society from a humanitarian point of view. Lautaro Yankas has remarked upon the originality of Lillo's work in this sense, arguing that

Lillo alone was not moved by the "bourgeois spirit" which was rampant amongst all Chilean writers: He alone "se perfila en las primeras décadas de este siglo como el escritor del pueblo. No vivió en conventillos, pero su enorme conciencia le hizo aproximarse al hombre, cualquiera que fuese."(21)

It is difficult to discern whether it was the Realist influence that led Lillo to write his stories or whether it was his own experience that could only be transformed into literary work by the application of Realist principles. Perhaps the predominance of personal experience alone would have led Lillo to become merely a chronicler without importance whose testimonies would have remained unknown to a national readership. On the other hand, the predominance of a purely Realist form without the richness of his personal experience would have transformed Lillo into just one of the many Chilean writers who did not transcend mediocrity. It is precisely in this blend of rich personal experience and a diversity of literary contacts that Lillo's work acquires significance. Fernando Alegría has indirectly pointed to these characteristics of Lillo's work:-

"...comprobamos que sus cuentos no constituyen una creación primitivista ni son una crónica periodística del drama minero ... son predominantemente realistas, patéticos y sociales y calzan con exactitud en una forma que representa tendencias dominantes en la época en que fueron escritos."(22)

Many other critics have emphasized the overriding influence of personal experience in Lillo's work as its distinctive characteristic, and it is probably this element that endows his

stories with their rich flavour of authenticity. The following are the testimonies of Mariano Latorre and Armando Donoso, two fellow writers who knew Lillo very closely:-

Latorre:- "Como empleado de la Pulpería en Lota, Baldomero Lillo veía pasar a los mineros, conversaba con ellos, no era arribista, no tenía prejuicios. Los mineros eran sus amigos y, a menudo, según el mismo Lillo me contó, algunas veces iba a sus casas, compartía su comida y sus penas. De este modo se pudo ir formando una extraordinaria reserva de observaciones que más tarde entregó en *Subterra*."(23)

Donoso:- "Nadie como él en nuestra literatura ha vivido tan intensamente todas las páginas de sus libros, y así sus mejores cuentos salieron al calor de su propia vida."(24)

*Subterra*, published in 1904, is the clearest example of this rendering of personal experience in a documentary Realist style with traces of Naturalism occasionally adorned with literary imagery. The environment surrounding each event in the stories reminds us of the misery of olden times. The mine has the sinister atmosphere of a place full of hardship and is permanently threatened with catastrophe. It is the Devil's domain, where even the weak and miserable children, whom Lillo calls "la tiznada chiquillería de las minas", have to share the fate of their elders with equal intensity.

Obviously the atrocious conditions prevailing in the mines had a bearing on Lillo's style, and his stories represent a guided tour through the mines in which there is no attempt to hide the less palatable aspects of such an environment. As Díaz

Arrieta has said,

"...Lillo descendió (a las minas) como Dante, provisto de una terrible lámpara. Narra la existencia infernal de los mineros, inmutable, poniendo un detalle después de otro, descansadamente hasta espantar..."(25)

The allusion to Dante is quite appropriate for Lillo's mythical hell-like description of the coal mines in the stories of Subterra, as well as in stories like "El rapto del sol" and "Víspera de difuntos". The atmosphere of the mine, indeed, is not unlike that of a prison; in the dark gallery, "un ruido seco y metálico vibraba en la atmósfera pesada y húmeda. Era el choque de los grilletes bajo las ropas andrajosas."(26) And the conditions outside the mine also have their effect on human beings; the description of atmospheric conditions in Lillo's stories can be used either to describe the beauty of the landscape at a critical point in his narration, or to remark upon the hostility of nature which adds to the sufferings inflicted upon the poor by their fellow human beings. Thus, the recurrent allusion to rainfall, which can be torrential in southern Chile during the winter, reinforces the misery of the miners, peasants or simple vagrants who populate Lillo's short stories. In "El Pago", for instance, the persistent rain increases the misery of the main characters:-

"... y la lluvia caía siempre copiosa, incesante, empapando la tierra y calando las ropas de aquellos miserables para quienes la llovizna y las inclemencias del cielo eran una parte pequeña de sus trabajos y sufrimientos."(27)



Despite the Naturalist determinism of his mining stories, and especially "La Compuerta No. 12", where Lillo refers to a generation of miners condemned to endless exploitation followed by yet another generation of miners' sons who would continue the cyclical fate of their fathers, Lillo saw his characters as possessed of a high degree of potential freedom to change their destinies, although, as yet, it is no more than glimpsed.(28) This detachment from oppressive determinism put Lillo in line with a Peninsular brand of Realism, particularly as represented by Pérez Galdós.(29) In fact, most of Lillo's characters appear as capable of response and of directing their own lives. This is reflected in ways ranging from the extreme cases of rebellion against fate which can result in a dangerous or fatal outcome like that of Viento Negro in "El Grisú" or María de los Angeles in "El Chiflón del Diablo", to the more hopeful case of the youngster in "La Cruz de Salomón" who, by escaping to freedom, can avoid fateful punishment.

In Realist prose there is normally a sparing use of literary imagery and most of Lillo's stories comply with this tacit rule. It is in this context that Lorenzo Campana has stated that Lillo's "cuentos"

"están escritos en un estilo fuerte y desnudo, desprovisto de artificio y de hojarasca oratoria o metafórica. Usa Lillo un lenguaje directo y funcional en su contenido dramático exento en absoluto de imágenes que no sean las indispensables para dar un ambiente o un sentimiento determinado."(30)

However, even in those stories in which Lillo comes closest

to Realist patterns - i.e., in the stories included in Subterra - metaphors can be found. Thus in "El Pago" we read "... desde la ventanilla de pago parecía brotar un hálito de desgracias"; and "El Chiflón del Diablo" concludes with the following paragraph: "Un ruido sordo casi imperceptible brotó de la hambrienta boca del pozo, de la cual se escapaban bocanadas de tenues vapores: era el aliento del monstruo ahito de sangre en el fondo de su cubil."(31)

In other cases, Lillo's selection of metaphors and epithets such as "lúgubre galería", "honda caverna" and others, reveal an undeniable influence of the old Romantic school. It is equally important to point out that, despite his strong documentary style, Lillo also resorted to vivid imagery in order to heighten the tension in his stories. An instance of this is found in "El Chiflón del Diablo" where, just when a terrible accident is about to happen, Lillo gives an idyllic description of the landscape which offers a striking contrast to what will follow shortly afterwards:-

"María de los Angeles se quedó encantada con la radiante claridad que inundaba los campos, un nimbo de oro circundaba al sol que se levantaba sobre el horizonte enviando a torrentes sus vívidos rayos sobre la húmeda tierra de la que se desprendían por todas partes azulados y blancos vapores."(32)

Although Lillo's use of dialogue is rare, in the mining stories workers sometimes appear using rather grandiloquent speech, as in "La Compuerta No. 12" where the foreman asks Pablo's father why he is bringing his small child to work when he

should be at school; the miner replies:

"Somos seis en casa y uno solo el que trabaja; Pablo ya cumplió los 8 años y debe ganarse el pan que come y, como hijo de minero, su oficio será el de sus mayores que nunca tuvieron otra escuela que la mina."(33)

More commonly, however, the tone of the speech corresponds to the real world of the character involved, as in "En el Conventillo" where Lillo makes Sabina answer an important question referring to her sick daughter:

"Si usted viera como patalea cuando se enoja, entonces nadita de tullida que está, pero en cuanto la paran, pone las piernas como una lana. Es costumbre que ha agarrado esta pícara, a fuerza de chicotes se la tengo que quitar."(34)

Lillo shows here the ignorance of the humble woman with regard to the disease afflicting her child.

In his depiction of popular characters, Lillo does not artificially deform their speech in order to create a standard or pattern of popular language. As Lorenzo Campana has put it, Lillo "no incurre en las deformaciones de language, tan caras a la mayoría de los criollistas; no necesita valerse de huaserías ni de manierismos para hacer sentir la verdad de un tipo humano determinado..."(35)

Lillo can be better described as a social realist writer because he considers the environment and the life of the Chilean people with an implicitly critical approach. Although his social message is unclear, it is possible to discern a belief that the

exploitation of the majority of men for the sake of a wealthy minority should be brought to an end. He postulates the rebirth of humanity through social justice within loosely Catholic principles and he asserts that people are potentially able to avoid the determinism of their environment and the fate of eternal exploitation.

There is, however, an element of frustration in Lillo's stories which naturally arises from the objective conditions of social consciousness prevailing among the poor during his times. The lack of a disciplined organisation among the workers and the hard conditions of repression that prevailed did not allow Lillo to see a solution to the "social question", not at least in any foreseeable future.

b) Naturalist influences in Lillo

In the mining stories included in Subterra the influence of Naturalism is also apparent. In fact, this whole collection of short stories is reputed to be Naturalist (as well as Realist).(36) Certainly, Lillo read Zola's Germinal and was attracted by Zola's literary themes and style. Thus Donald F. Brown affirms that Lillo was "the first imitator of Germinal... but" - he also adds - "the Chilean miners apparently had never heard of unions or strikes..."(37)

Subterra was based entirely on the reality of the Chilean coal mines at a time when no workers' organization was well established and when the mining companies were becoming

increasingly capitalist while sometimes preserving some paternalistic aspects of the old "fundos" from which the majority of the workers had originally emigrated.

Ruth Sedgwick, pointing to Lillo's Naturalism, also asserts: "Ningún autor chileno ha mostrado mas semejanzas con Zola que el cuentista Baldomero Lillo." In the article quoted, Sedgwick lists a number of similarities between Lillo's stories and Zola's Germinal. But, again, it is important to remember that Lillo's main objective was the representation of life in the mines, that is, the reality of the Chilean mines at the turn of the century. However ambiguous, the following statement by Menton supports the idea that any Naturalist inspiration was rather limited:- "tal vez inspirados por Germinal de Zola, los cuentos de Subterra están tan apegados a la realidad chilena que desmienten cualquier influencia libresca."(38)

It is perhaps in the description of the environment, or the "milieu", where a resemblance between Lillo's stories and those of Zola's could be located, particularly in the mining stories. A clear instance is the depiction of the unbearable conditions endured by the miners; they are described as labourers enduring conditions close to slavery. They are either "los esclavos de la ergástula" or "los sísifos condenados a una tarea eterna."(39)

The effect of the milieu as a factor adding to the suffering of the humble people is an important element in several of Lillo's stories. As Latcham has pointed out, Lillo is "el primer chileno que pinta sin misericordia la acción de los elementos

naturales."(40) For example, in "El Remolque", it is the storm that directly causes the death of a lovable skipper and his son; in "Subsole", the death of Cipriana is wholly attributable to the natural elements - the rocks and the rising tide.

The milieu, of course, can also be the whole atmosphere of social malaise that conditions the behaviour of individuals. For instance, Lillo also takes from Zola the idea that drunkenness and social deprivation can drive the human being to insanity and even to murder. In "El Ahogado", acute economic hardship compels Sebastian to commit murder, to become a drunkard and drives him into insanity. Other types of alienation such as masochism and sadism, which occur frequently in Naturalist writings, are also present in Lillo's stories. For instance, sado-masochism is found in "Víspera de Difuntos", where a woman who has sadistically murdered a young girl is later haunted by remorse and qualms of conscience. Sadism is also present in the spectators at the cockfight, as seen in the following lines from "En la Rueda":-

"... y allá en el fondo de sus almas lastimadas en su orgullo de profesionales por aquel contraste, sentían un secreto goce cuando el implacable cenizo laceraba con una nueva herida el cuerpo exangüe del malhadado favorito."(41)

Although the Naturalist conception of fatality is present in some of Lillo's stories, there are many important instances in which his work departs from pure Naturalism and arrives at a conception of mankind far removed from the fatalistic product of heredity, environment or circumstances. In Lillo's mining

stories, men are not only subject to the influence of irrational or atavistic forces but mainly to the deliberate and conscious exploitation of other human beings. Although exploited, men always preserve the ability to reflect upon and react against oppression. Lillo's characters are not mere "products" of external forces (whether such forces are called 'environment', 'heredity' or 'circumstance') but rather conscious subjects capable of transforming the world in which they live or, at least, prepared to make the attempt.

Although Lillo presents cases of fatalistic causality which are similar to those in Zola's work, he is not very much concerned with a search for general laws of "scientific determinism", as Latcham calls them.(42) In this respect this research shows that there is in fact an "anti-Naturalist" content in Lillo's work: a rebellion against the deterministic motives typically found in Naturalist literature. Rather than a Naturalist, Lillo is a Realist in search of an authentic representation of life.

There are traces of fatalism in Lillo's short stories, but they simply form the background or the ambience and never constitute the prime mover in the stories. In Subterra, the mine itself represents the brutal and inescapable force of destiny for the miners. In "La Compuerta No. 12" Lillo explains that

"...la mina no soltaba nunca lo que había cogido y - como eslabones nuevos que se substituyen a los viejos gastados de una cadena sin fin - incluso los pequeñuelos respirando el aire emponzonado de la mina crecían raquíticos, débiles y paliduchos, pero había que resignarse, pues para eso

habían nacido."(43)

Cabeza de Cobre, the main character in "El Chiflón del Diablo", consciously accepts - like all his comrades - that "era inútil sustraerse al destino que cada cual tenía asignado."(44) Such a limited reference to fatalism has to be viewed in the light of Lillo's Catholic upbringing, the influence of which is noticeable throughout his work. Lillo was obviously well aware of the shortcomings of Catholicism vis-à-vis the acute social problems he witnessed in the mines. His disillusion with the lack of a social response from the Church led him to tacitly criticize religion as a whole. One of the characters in "El Pago", for instance, summarizes his criticism by stating - "Para los pobres no hay Dios."(45) In this context, the reference to fatalism entails another form of social criticism. Rather than viewing fatalism as an overriding force, Lillo sees it as an expression of the isolation and helplessness of humble people. This has more to do with social than with metaphysical causes. After all, Lillo was writing his stories at the turn of the century when the Church in Chile was still identified with the interests of the ruling classes. As Ara has pointed out, such disillusion was general among contemporary writers in Latin America and led them to revolt against the Church's hierarchy without losing an intrinsic faith in God and in solidarity among human beings.(46) In the final analysis, however, Lillo remains confident of the victory of Catholic values over selfish principles which promote the pursuit of wealth at the expense of the poor.



There are other Naturalist ideas found mainly in Lillo's non-mining stories which are certainly similar to those of Zola, with Germinal being the clearest influence. For instance, the depiction of man as a "bête humaine" regressing to a subhuman primitive state, recalls Lillo's "Víspera de Difuntos" where the psychological insecurity of the main character turns her into a schizophrenic suffering from continuous relapses into a bestial condition. This can be appreciated from the following paragraph:-

"...no supe como salté al suelo y cuando mis pies tropezaron en el jergón, me incliné y busque a tientas en la oscuridad aquella larga y dorada cabellera y, asiéndola con ambas manos, tire de ella con furia ... sin poder contener el choque de mis dientes, más bien me arrastré que anduve."(47)

Lillo continually makes reference to the beast in woman. In "El Ahogado" he mentions again the regression to a bestial condition when Sebastián, under the pressure of economic and social problems, transforms himself into a beast capable of killing. At a critical juncture in his existence, Sebastián loses his human condition and "... mientras su cabeza ardía, un frio glacial comenzó a descender a lo largo de sus extremidades. Una sed ardiente le atravesó sus fauces."(48) Lillo here emphasizes the animal-like qualities of the character by choosing zoological terms such as "fauces".

It should be pointed out, however, that Lillo regarded the coal miner and other popular characters as beings with outstanding human qualities and totally exempt from the dangers

of losing their identity. Any zoological images in the mining stories relate to the external appearance rather than to the psychology of the miners themselves. The tragic psychological transformation or degradation which alter the very substance of Zola's characters are never present in Lillo's characters. Therefore, when the miners are described, all references to bestiality or animal imagery apply solely to external and contingent circumstances. For example, young Pablo in "La Compuerta No. 12" is a "medrosa bestezuela" and his father has to work in the pit "revolviéndose como reptil en la estrecha labor." And in the same story, the miners wait fearfully like "el potro resabiado que se estremece tembloroso a la vista de la vara."(49) Also in "El Grisú", the chief engineer is taken to inspect the galleries sitting in a small cart which is being pulled by two boys who with "arreos de bestia de tiro empujaban el carrito ... el uno empujaba de atrás y el otro enganchado como caballo, tiraba de adelante."(50)

In another case, the whole population of the mining village show signs of external animal-like qualities when, panic-stricken, they run crazily when the sirens sound. They are described by Lillo as the "harapiento rebaño" and "polluelos que percibiendo de improviso el rápido descenso del gavilán, corren lanzando pitíos desesperados, a buscar refugio bajo las plumas erizadas de la madre."(51)

The miners very easily lose their temper and are obviously subject to "human passions", as in the case of the two youngsters courting the same girl in "El Pozo" who are forced to solve their

dispute using their fists:-

"... delante de la moza redoblaban sus acometidas como fieras en celo y se disputaban la posesión de la hembra que los excita y enamora."(52)

Such outbursts, however, are only temporary and do not amount to a fundamental regression to bestiality.

Zola's idea of ancestral heredity can also be found in Lillo's non-mining stories. For instance, in "En el Conventillo", the chaotic atmosphere surrounding the characters is firmly established as a product of atavistic forces. Even Sabina's children are beings "abandonados a sí mismos" who "crecían como plantas bravías sin que nada contrarrestase los atávicos impulsos de sus almas infantiles indisciplinadas y precoces."(53) A similar idea is found in "El Angelito" where the death of the infant causes his father to instinctively run to the forest to alleviate the suffering and "...apenas hubo pasado la crisis, su alma sórdida de labriego recobró sus características ancestrales."(54)

In short, the presence of Naturalist influences in Lillo's work is undeniable but it has to be qualified. It is a mixture of Zola's Naturalism with that of Pérez Galdós and Emilia Pardo Bazán. It can be viewed as yet another tool which Lillo uses to represent his social and economic reality. The main difference between Lillo's approach to reality and that of the French Naturalists can be found in their contrasting orientations. Whereas Naturalism consistently represented dehumanized beings

(who, furthermore, could do nothing to alter their fate), Lillo attempts to overcome de-humanization and his work represents a quest for social justice. Nothing would support more this idea than the self-conferred task which haunted Lillo during the last years of life - that of writing a novel about those workers in Northern Chile who rose up against exploitation and offered their lives en masse in the struggle to defeat the man-made fatality of misery.

c) Modernista manifestations

As explained in Chapter I, Lillo's early literature was directly influenced by the Modernista tendency that was then developing in Latin America and becoming an attraction to young writers, particularly in Chile because of the presence there of Rubén Darío.

On arriving in Santiago in 1898, Lillo found himself involved in a Modernista atmosphere which he was unable to avoid.

The very house in which he was staying was a meeting place for Modernistas and the host, his brother Samuel, was a leading figure in the new movement. Lillo's first literary production - the sonnet "El Mar" - was a poor and uninspired piece of poetry which reflected a partially absorbed Modernista influence. This literary disappointment, however, did not eliminate altogether Lillo's interest in Modernismo. In fact, three of his stories included in Subterra and published in 1904, contain traces of Modernismo which do not seem to marry with the strong Realism of the stories themselves. Lillo himself, in later editions of the

book, removed the Modernista paragraphs, perhaps following the advice of his friend Armando Donoso.(55) Such deletions, however, do not amount to a rejection of Modernismo. They rather reflect Lillo's preoccupation with matters of style and with his idea that Modernismo was better suited to non-realist stories. In fact, the same passages deleted from later editions of the stories "Los Inválidos", "El Pago" and "El Chiflón del Diablo" reappear in different guise in the imaginist stories of Subsole published in 1908. By writing these imaginist stories Lillo intended to show to the critics that he, like his contemporaries, was able to write Modernista stories.(56)

Very little has been said about Lillo as a Modernista. There exist only two studies on this matter:- "Baldomero Lillo ¿Un Modernista comprometido?", by John Walker, and "Baldomero Lillo and Modernism" by Victor Valenzuela(57); the latter is based on the interpretations of the Modernista elements in Lillo's stories and does not refer to the interpretation of their symbolism, which is the main concern in Walker's study.

Modernismo helped Lillo take an interest in his own environment not only as the background for his subject-matter but also as an aesthetic reality. Thanks to Modernista influences, his prose became more elaborate and his imagery richer. Thus, for instance, the sun can be either "una esfera de oro en fusión que surge rauda hacia el espacio", or "el fúlgido luminar", or "ascua errante", or "fuego fatuo".(58) In "El Rapto del Sol", when the sun has been captured, "en la cúpula sombría centellean calladamente los astros (y) ... como una maravillosa lámpara está

el celeste prisionero."(59)

Modernismo gave Lillo's prose a wider range of expression; he became more capable of conveying sensations of warmth, happiness and vitality which contrast with the gloomy depictions of the earlier mining stories. In the description of the journey made by the drop of water in "Nieves Eternas" there is an abundant use of imagery destined to produce optical sensations. The drop of water itself is described as "de una transparencia absoluta atravesada por los rayos de luz que reflejaba todos los matices del prisma ora semejaba un brillante de purísimas aguas ora un ópalo, un rubí o un pálido zafiro."(60) Images like these reflect the influence of Darío and in the particular case of Lillo's optical metaphors, they seem to be closely related to Darío's "El Rubí" where the poet speaks of "los diamantes blancos y limpios como gotas de agua, emergían los iris de sus cristalizaciones ... las esmeraldas esparcían sus resplandores verdes y los zafiros en amontonamientos raros ... semejaban grandes flores azules y temblorosas."(61)

Other paragraphs in Lillo's "Irredención" also appear to be similar to Darío's imagery in his "Las Ninfas". In Lillo's story, the princess walks amongst "una atmósfera de efluvios y aromas embriagadores" against a background of "durazneros en flor" ...(y)... "un sol de primavera tibio y risueño (que) acariciaba los campos."(62) In "La Ninfa" Darío gives the following description of the background:- "En las rosas el carmín, el bermellón, la onda penetrante de perfumes dulces más allá de las violetas, en grandes grupos con su color apacible y su olor a

virgen."(63) Both writers are trying to achieve a tapestry of sensual perceptions.

Musicality is another feature of Lillo's Modernista stories. The scenery is not only described in visual images but also against a background of melodious sounds. In "Nieves Eternas", for instance, "las gotas de agua se ofrecían gozosas a los piquitos glotones que las absorbían unas tras otras con un glú glú musical y rítmico."(64) This rhythmical image also has a counterpart in Darío's "El Rey Burgués":- "¡Tiririrín! Todo entre burlas de los pájaros libres que llegaban a beber el rocío en las lilas floridas, entre el zumbido que le picaban el rostro y le llenaban los ojos de lágrimas."(65)

Although sporadically, Modernista images can also be found in Lillo's Realist stories. In most cases they refer to the description of natural elements such as the voluptuous sensations in "El Ahogado" where "el sol ... como hálito de fresca boca de mujer su resplandor de una tibieza sutil acariciaba oblicuamente empañando con un vaho de tenue neblina el terso cristal de las aguas."(66) Even in one of the most clearly Realist chapters of his unfinished novel, Lillo resorts to a Modernista treatment of the environment whereby the Northern desert becomes a "bíblico campo sembrado de sol, en vano la pólvora y la dinamita han abierto en él, con sus rejas flamígeras, innumerables surcos y hundido y desgarrado por mil partes su fecunda entraña."(67)

A key point to be taken into account when analysing the Modernista influences in Lillo's work is the unity and continuity

of his literary production. The Modernista stories do not represent a deviation from what Lillo saw as the main role of a writer in the society of his times. It is of the utmost importance to bear in mind that Lillo persistently maintains an attitude of social criticism throughout his Modernista writings. The most outstanding example can be found in the speech of the old miner in "Los Inválidos" where Modernista images are applied to reinforce the social message:-

"Camaradas, este bruto es la imagen de nuestra vida; como él callamos, sufriendo resignados nuestro destino y sin embargo ... si todos los oprimidos con las manos atadas a la espalda marchásemos contra nuestros opresores, cuan presto quebrantaríamos el orgullo de los que hoy beben nuestra sangre y chupan hasta la médula de nuestros huesos..."

Then the miner lets his mind wander imagining what would happen when the oppressed finally rise up:-

"...todo se derrumbaba al choque formidable de aquellas famélicas legiones que tremolando el harapo como bandera de exterminio, reducían a cenizas los palacios y los templos. Esas moradas donde el egoísmo y la soberbia han dictado las inicuas leyes que han hecho de la inmensa mayoría de los hombres semejantes a bestias, sísifos condenados a una tarea eterna, los miserables bregan y se agitan sin que una chispa de luz intelectual rasque las tinieblas de sus cerebros esclavos donde la idea, esa simiente divina, no germinará jamás."(68)

Another Modernista passage in a Realist context is found in "El Pago" where the story recounts the daydreams and fantasies of the miner Pedro María. In his imagination, Pedro María sees fantastic images emerging from the mine when coal begins to turn



into gold:-

"...no era carbón ni otro mineral cualquiera ... sino una masa rojiza blanda gelatinosa .. aquello era el sudor, la sangre y las lágrimas vertidas por las generaciones de mineros, sus antepasados, en los corredores de la mina y por los que aún poblaban sus infernales pasadizos..."(69)

As a result of the gold flowing from the mine, Pedro María's hallucination takes the form of sumptuous palaces and splendid mansions in whose daunting halls couples are dancing until, suddenly, the music stops and all the precious jewels worn by the women and the glittering decorations of the palace begin to melt and

"... los rubíes dejaban caer manchas sangrientas sobre los regios tapices. Y las paredes, las escalinatas, los bronces y los mármoles, tomando un tinte rojo, violáceo horrible, parecían sangre coagulada."(70)

It is evident in the foregoing paragraphs that, despite their Modernista form, there is an essence of social protest which links such imagery to the fundamental Realist structure of the short stories concerned.

Such a fundamental component of social criticism is still present in the purely imaginist stories where Modernismo is more evident. In "El Rapto del Sol", for instance, a parallel can be drawn between the figure of the arrogant king who traps the sun and brings about death and distress amongst his subjects and the actions of the mine owners and the hellish living conditions of the workers. In "El Rapto del Sol" the king is described as a

powerful being who "en su inconmensurable soberbia creía que todo el universo estábale subordinado, y el férreo yugo con que sujetó a los pueblos y naciones superó a todas las tiranías de que se guarda memoria."(71) On the other hand, Mr Davies, the chief engineer and representative of the bosses in the mine is depicted in *Subterra* thus; "duro e inflexible su trato con el obrero, desconocía la piedad y, en su orgullo de raza, consideraba la vida de aquellos seres como una cosa indigna de la atención de un gentleman."(72) Both the king and Mr Davies appear to share the feelings of contempt for their fellow humans and while in the king "el orgullo y la soberbia avivan sus hogueras", Mr Davies is "como una montaña en la cual la humanidad y los siglos habían amontonado soberbia, egoísmo y ferocidad."

In "*El Rapto del Sol*" the corrupt social order created by the king is destroyed by a monumental cataclysm and a new world of love and friendship emerges from the remains. Walker has interpreted this final outcome as Lillo's vision of a new society based on the collaboration of the different classes and achieved when "la clase capitalista le estreche la mano a la clase proletaria, cuando la humanidad venza en la pugna de clases, llegará a triunfar la paz."(73) Such an interpretation, however, would not do justice to Lillo's views which, at least in his imaginist short stories envisage a more radical outcome. Indeed, the "nueva humanidad" would emerge but from the ashes of the corrupt order and nowhere does Lillo imply the survival of capitalists in his Utopia. In "*El Rapto del Sol*" the king is received in the "cadena infinita de la nueva humanidad" not as a

king but, precisely, just as one of its numerous links.

In "El oro" Lillo uses a symbolism similar to that of the "El Rapto del Sol" and sees man as doomed to failure when he attempts to build a new humanity devoid of love and pity. Symbolically, Lillo sees the origin of problems in man's quest for riches. In this sense, this story appears to be the development of the Modernista paragraph introduced into the Realist story "El Pago". Gold is seen as the generator of avarice and arrogance among people and as the main obstacle to human solidarity. On this point Walker has rightly pointed out that "Lillo eleva su cuento hasta el plano universal al utilizar sutilmente el tema del oro, símbolo universal y eterno de codicia, más bien que el carbón que hubiera prestado a su protesta un tono más regional."

The mining story "La Compuerta No. 12" can also be compared with the imaginist story "Irredención." In the latter, a Princess is punished because, by cutting the blossom from the fruit trees, she is interrupting the normal development of life at an early stage. In "La Compuerta ...", children are seen pushed to extremes of exhaustion and Pablo, in particular, "encargado del manejo de esa puerta, (está) abrumado por aquella lápida enorme que ahogo para siempre en él la inquietud y grácil movilidad de la infancia." (74) In this story (as the blossom dies in "Irredención") Pablo is taking the place of another boy crushed by one cart of coal.

Many other parallels can be drawn between the

imaginist-Modernista stories and the Realist ones of a more documentary character. The former seem to be the projection of a local reality to a universal conception of mankind. Without doubt, Lillo had a deep-seated concern, while writing these stories with Modernista form, with the negative aspects of mankind. He adopts a moral position towards evil so that justice and punishment become overriding motives in his writings. Unable to see justice done to the miners in real life - except by a catastrophe in which both culprits and innocents are killed - Lillo can satisfy his thirst for justice in these Modernista stories which are purely products of the imagination. In this respect there is indeed an intrinsic connection between these Modernista stories and the mining stories.

The four Modernista stories reveal an aesthetic concern which Lillo was unable to express fully in his Realist stories and this is developed without losing his deep commitment to social justice.

d) Chilean Popular Elements in Lillo's Work

The convergence of changing social and economic conditions in Chile by the end of the nineteenth century with the various European literary currents and the influence of other Latin American cultural factors contributed to the development of criollismo which, as defined by Schwartz, is "a Latin American form of realism or regionalism which stresses the people and their land. It may involve elements of naturalism, social problems, nature as an external destructive force inimical to

man, violence, love, hate, human passion, the anonymous, and the alienated. Two of the basic ingredients are the tragic and fatalistic elements of naturalism on the one hand, and the artistic legacy of modernism on the other."(75)

Mínguez considered Lillo as one of the forerunners of criollismo and equated his work with the main features of that literary tendency. In his words, the Chilean writer was

"estupendo cuentista criollo. Baldomero Lillo, es el más vigoroso y combativo ... al sintetizar la perspectiva humana de sus tipos literarios con su esfuerzo, su trabajo, al presentar a este como la prolongación activa de sus existencias y de su razón de existir, ha creado, partiendo del naturalismo de Zola, un tipo de cuento criollo muy posiblemente destinado a perdurar: el cuento trágico americanista."(76)

By the 1900s intellectual life had changed dramatically in the whole of Spanish America. As Jean Franco suggests, "writers increasingly depicted the landscape and people of their native country, especially those of the rural areas where manners were most different from those of Europe."(77)

In Chile, such an intellectual awakening manifested itself in the appearance of numerous periodicals and newspapers with literary content; between 1875 and 1889, nine literary magazines were launched and another eleven were added in the period 1894-1900. At the turn of the century the new periodicals such as "Lilas y Campánulas", "Santiago Cómico", "Pluma y Lápiz", "Luz y Sombra", "La Revista de Santiago", "La Revista Cómica", acquired greater consistency and reflected the richness of the

new literary tendencies.(78) Some of the new periodicals also offered prizes to stimulate the emergence of young literary talent.(79)

This ebullient literary activity prompted the enthusiasm of the new intellectuals and led them to explore their own reality with the tools provided by the innovating tendencies. In particular, there was interest in exploring the countryside and in looking for a basic approach to the land and its people, neglected for so long in the prevailing literature of the epoch.

In most cases, however, the approach of the new intellectuals was idealistic, perhaps romantic and ineffective. As in the case of the Colonia Tolstoiana, the passion for the countryside was not authentic.(80) The writers concerned never ceased to be "urban animals" who wanted to capture the spirit of a natural environment without freeing themselves from their basic urban approach. Their relationship with the countryside was merely intellectual and not the product of experience. Unlike other writers who took an interest in the countryside, Lillo was an intellectual who made his literary journey in the opposite direction. He immersed himself in the ebullient literary atmosphere of the turn of the century after he had acquired firm rural and provincial roots. What other writers wanted to discover was already well engraved in Lillo's experience.

It is this basic difference that explains Lillo's authenticity in the treatment of his themes. His use of rural and provincial terms and description of popular customs does not

amount to an external search for a new vocabulary but is a reflection of his own origins and experience. His use of colloquial expressions heard only in a rural or mining context is not a case of literary affectation but a natural way of communication perfectly suited to Lillo's normal speech. In "Inamible", for instance, when Tapia's superior suffers the unpleasant effects of his drunkenness from the previous night, Lillo's description of the "hangover" uses words and images pertaining to the rustic world depicted: "(Ruperto Tapia) mantenía embotado su cerebro y embrolladas sus ideas. Su cabeza, según el concepto local, era una olla de grillos."(81)

Lillo's sketches of rural and urban popular culture reveal his familiarity with the subject matter. He not only describes popular customs such as the curious feasting that follows the death of a child ("El Angelito"), the cockfight("En la Rueda") or the traditional celebrations of the threshing ("La Cruz de Salomón") but also his narrative idiom can make it appear as if the storyteller were one of the rural characters himself.

Descriptions of the rural settings and characters in Lillo are very truthful, particularly because no detail is spared to convey the visual image of events. Trillas, ramadas, patios, acequias and other components of the scenery are vividly described and in some cases this is done in great detail, as in "Malvavisco" where Lillo describes Serafín's "vistoso traje de huaso" which consists of

"chaqueta corta de paño azul con botonadura  
de nácar, pantalones blancos de borlón;  
polainas de charol, espuelas de plata con

grandes y sonoras rodajas de acero. En  
derredor de la cintura una faja de seda  
carmesí y pendiente de los hombros un fino  
poncho de lana, con rayas verdes en fondo  
morado..."(82)

Lillo borrowed from traditional culture, as in "La Barreta" and "Juan Fariña". The latter is entirely based upon the flooding and sinking of a coal pit that had occurred many years earlier. The host of myths and superstitions that originated from the real occurrence were collected by Lillo and made the essence of his story. Also in "La Chascuda" and "El Anillo" Lillo made use of superstitions and ghost stories that were told by the local people.(83) In "Carlitos", he refers to that mixture of superstition and credulity in Jacinta, the woman who takes her foster child to the curandera seeking treatment for his empacho(84)

Parallel to the use of Realist imagery, Lillo also resorts to folktales. One example of this is his use of the supernatural, so common in the folktales of southern Chile. Lillo himself, as well as his brothers and sisters, absorbed those stories as part of their provincial upbringing. A journalist who once interviewed Lillo's sister Elvira, recounted that

"Los cuentos de aparecidos y las leyendas fantasmales conservadas por la tradición oral, muchas veces venidas desde el fondo racial de los aborígenes, los extraños golpes, ruidos, voces no de cristiano viviente alguno... tales consejas eran relatadas a Doña Elvira por viejas lugareñas."(85)



In some cases Lillo used the basic plot of those consejas and transformed them into short stories. Instances of this are "Juan Fariña", "La Chascuda", "El Anillo" and "Piedra de Fuego".(86)

There are also many references to folklore. In "El Pozo", Lillo introduces the common custom of improvising coplas, those ironic and witty verses that are either sung or recited by peasants. In the story in question, Valentín sings:

"El tonto que se enamora  
es un tonto de remate  
trabaja y calienta el agua  
para que otro se tome el mate."(87)

Another instance is the use of sayings and popular aphorisms. In "El Grisú", when an old miner is giving a "lecture" that becomes rather lengthy, another miner wittily remarks: "ataje la recua, mire que se le dispara"(88)

Lillo has the skill to capture popular types, as in picaresque literature, and transform them into mischievous and astute literary characters. The examples are many; there is Ruperto Tapia (alias "el Guarán"), the militiaman in "Inamible" who, like Sancho Panza on his island, imparts law using his own wit; there is the mischievous "Pirayán", the shopkeeper who swindles and defrauds his customers with various sorts of tricks. Lillo also introduces elements of rural tall stories; there is, for instance, the sordid beggar in "El Vagabundo" who deceives the humble peasants taking advantage of their proneness to superstition.(89) The horse-thief nicknamed "El Chispa" in the story "El Angelito" keeps his promise of leaving behind his life

of villainy if only to undertake another enterprise not altogether holy: the purchase of child corpses whose wake he organises so that the villagers will attend and spend their money on drinks bought from his shop. Don Cosme from "Quilapán", Don Simón Antonio from "La Mano Pegada" and Don Simón from "El Vagabundo" represent those ruthless landowners who by forgery and deceit have procured for themselves vast estates, causing the eviction and destitution of previous owners.

With the introduction of proletarian characters such as miners, fishermen, Onofre the baker, Sabina and Jacinta the washerwomen and others, Lillo was the first to give Chilean literature a real social content and to acknowledge the appearance of the new social class. In this respect Moretic and Orellana assert that "el propio Lillo fue el primero en convertir a la clase obrera como tal en personaje literario." (90)

The popular characters are not idealised in Lillo's work. The urban "roto" (the "ragged one") is a machista and frequently a drunkard. The baker Onofre in "El Conventillo" spends his money on drink and betting on the cockfight and ignores his parental responsibility, forcing his wife, Sabina, to become the breadwinner in the family, "con ese obtinado y silencioso heroísmo de las mujeres de su clase, su valeroso espíritu no desmayaba en la lucha desigual que sostenía contra la miseria." (91)

It is worth mentioning that Lillo is also a forerunner in introducing child characters into his stories. They can be as

mischievous as their elders and in fact tend to devote most of their efforts to imitating adults. The two rascals Cañuela and Petaca bear some resemblance to Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn, while the sly urban children in "El Conventillo", with their mischievous games, are similar to the characters in Oliver Twist who try with artful stratagems to fool other children in order to benefit themselves.

Finally, what really relates Lillo to his people is the use of simple and direct language through which he identifies himself with the characters he portrays. In this respect Silva Vildósola has written that "Lillo escribe en una lengua como pocos escritores han tenido a su disposición. Ha hallado generalmente ... el justo medio entre el lenguaje vulgar de nuestro diálogo familiar y el amaneramiento del que imita a los clásicos. Es castizo sin aparecer afectado. No recordamos otro escritor de su generación del cual se pueda decir lo mismo."(92)

Lillo's criollismo is quite different from that of later criollistas, such as Mariano Latorre, because he presents a more complex set of relationships between man and society; sometimes that representation takes on the quality of social protest. In fact the latter constitutes Lillo's greatest contribution to criollismo, i.e. the social conscience and humanism always present in his prose. This is something that was absent even in Maupassant, the European model for criollista writers.

Contrary to the idea that criollismo relates solely to the country life and environment, as assumed by most critics, Lillo

expands criollista writing to embrace all ambits of popular culture, whether in the country, the mines or the towns. His stories form a totality that forges together every component element - scenery, characters, language - into a perfect harmony with each other.

Another remarkable aspect of Lillo's form of criollismo is his personal identification with the characters he portrays. He does not look at his characters as "the others" but as fellows of his own kind, with many weaknesses and contradictions but without traces of prejudice or racial and social discrimination. Jean Franco illustrates this idea quoting Blanco Fombona, the Venezuelan writer and politician who "expresses what had been a common opinion among his contemporaries" - "The slowness and rusticity of the peasant exasperate me. They are always wrong, and it is impossible that they should ever be rescued from their sad condition of inferior beings except through a persistent educational programme."(93)

Lillo's approach is also different from that of the writers who organised the Colonia Tolstoiana as a reflection of their commitment to rural life. They set up the colony in a rural environment but they could neither accept nor become accustomed to that "ignorant and unhygienic way of life."(94)

Lillo, who spent half his life beside the miners, peasants and Indians of southern Chile, became integrated into the life of those whom he described. He viewed the miners as people who faced their exploitation with dignity; Quilapán, the Indian, for

instance, is a heroic paradigm of the landless peasants. All his characters seem to be real people whom Lillo personally knew or, at least, heard about during his wanderings through the Chilean mines, farms, villages where the people lived. It is in this context that Montenegro states: "Esas vidas que él representa son importantes en grado inverso a lo humilde de su destino o a la sordidez de los acaecimientos." (95) By living near the people, or rather by being one of them, Lillo was able to capture the environment and to understand the social and personal tragedy of life in poverty. This was the essential ingredient that gave his writing a richer flavour of authenticity when compared with that of his contemporaries.

## CHAPTER IV

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### LITERATURE AND SOCIETY, LILLO AND HIS TIMES

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#### INTRODUCTION

The central assumption with which we begin this chapter is that the work of Lillo ought to be viewed in the light of Chile's social background at the turn of the century. Undoubtedly, the literary development of social themes in Lillo's stories shows how deeply embedded in his consciousness the social and political changes were. It would not be appropriate to search for the prevailing literary trends in order to explain the motivation lying behind Lillo's work. Lillo's literary path is rather the inverse: he already had something to say and he said it using whatever literary vehicle was available. He felt himself compelled to write about social problems to the extent that he was affected by them, directly or indirectly.

The range of ways in which social realities had an impact on Lillo can be seen as more than a specific phenomenon related to an individual; it also provides a paradigm for Chilean society as a whole in his lifetime. In this context, it is of some interest to examine the conditions of life that prevailed in Lillo's Chile and to observe the way in which his work transcends individual interests and reflects the social and economic changes that Chile was undergoing.

1. CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF CHILE DURING  
THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth comprise a period of a significant transition for the Chilean economy. It is the transition from a simple and almost natural economy to one of profound social and economic complexity. Although the changes in themselves were not dramatic or drastic enough to break the continuity of trends already present since the first half of the century, in the long run, the cumulative effect of those changes resulted in a society which was completely different from that of the early years of Chilean independence.

The Chilean economy had developed strong links with the British economy almost immediately after Chile had gained its independence from Spain. The discovery of rich silver and copper mines in northern Chile during the 1830s and the development of wheat exports were all linked to the expansion of the British market after the Industrial Revolution. Chile became part of an international economy whose bilateral pattern of trade was dominated by Britain, as the "workshop of the world" and supplier of manufactured goods, with the rest of the world acting as suppliers of food and raw materials.

During the second half of the century that bilateral pattern was altered by the emergence of new industrial centres which by the end of the century were to dispute British supremacy in international markets. In the context of an expanding

international economy, Chile's economic structure underwent significant development in the period leading up to the early 1870s. There was a steady flow of exports to the British market, particularly wheat to Liverpool and London and copper to Swansea. The Californian "Gold Rush" in 1848 was another incentive for Chilean exports of wheat and flour and the same happened in the early 1860s when similar discoveries were made in Australia. In fact, around the middle of the century, Chilean supplies of wheat and flour reached far distant countries and even supplied some markets such as Australia and Argentina which later themselves became major producers of wheat.(1)

Before 1875 there was a rapid modernization of Chile's means of transport. Steamships were introduced very early in the 1840s and the first railway had started to be constructed by the end of the same decade. The origins of Chile's industrial sector can also be traced to the mid-nineteenth century(2). Doubtless related to the formidable early success of the Chilean economy, there was an impressive population growth during this period. Indeed, in terms of rates of population increase, it represents the highest rate of growth ever achieved in Chile's demographic history. Between the census years of 1843 (1,080,000 inhabitants) and 1865 (1,820,000 inhabitants) there was an increase of nearly 69%, which gives an annual average rate of population growth of 3.1%

The expansion of the Chilean economy was halted in the 1870s through a combination of internal and external factors. In Europe, the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 contributed to a



period of recession that affected all suppliers of raw materials. The commodities which constituted the bulk of Chilean exports were affected by a general fall in world prices. New and more powerful suppliers of wheat, such as Russia, India, Argentina, Canada and the United States, gained a firm foothold in the international markets and displaced the sporadic supplies that came from Chile. Britain, the traditional market for Chilean grain, found more stable and cheaper sources of supply and only in periods of poor harvest resorted to small purchases of Chilean wheat. On the other hand, potential markets in the U.S.A. and Australia were closed for ever as they themselves became wheat producers. As for the Chilean copper mines, the richer deposits became exhausted and production began to decline during the same period.

The economic crisis of the second half of the 1870s marks a turning point in Chilean economic history. The resolution of the crisis required a far reaching process of capital investment and an improvement in the application of technology. If the export of Chilean wheat was to continue within a more competitive international environment, it was necessary to use fertilizers, change cultivation methods, improve the quality of seeds, build more bridges, irrigation works, roads and railways, reinforce the merchant navy and improve all port facilities. And if copper exports were to continue their flow to the main international consumption centre, Swansea, it was necessary to improve the techniques of extraction, and so allow Chilean miners to exploit the extensive low-grade deposits that were available.

The challenge posed by the depression of the late 1870s was too much for the old-fashioned ruling classes in Chile. Instead of tackling the problem decisively, they chose a much easier option: a steady dependence on the newly-discovered nitrate resources of Antofagasta. When, in 1879, possession of this resource was threatened by the interests of neighbouring Bolivia and Perú, Chile did not hesitate to wage war against those two countries. The victorious result of the War of the Pacific not only ensured the exploitation of nitrate in Antofagasta, formerly Bolivian territory, but also allowed Chile to take over all the nitrate fields in the province of Tarapacá which before the War had been a Peruvian province.

The outcome of the War reinforced Chile's dependence on nitrates at a time when this fertilizer enjoyed an enormous consumption market, particularly in Germany. The nitrate mines, however, did not become Chilean enterprises because the majority of the deposits were acquired by British investors who formed joint stock companies registered in the London Stock Exchange.

The whole period under discussion coincides with what has been termed the "nitrate age" in Chile. All exports apart from nitrate steeply declined during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Industry ceased to grow at the same rate as before the War of the Pacific and all other sources of public revenue were greatly reduced while nitrate exports provided the state with more than 60% of its total income. For the ruling classes, the "nitrate age" was paradise. Direct taxation was practically abolished and, under the prevailing "laissez faire"

policies, conspicuous consumption among the rich became the norm.(3)

Those "laissez faire" policies greatly favoured the dominant sectors of Chilean society, i.e., the rich landowners, the exporters of mineral products and the merchants. Those were the interest groups that prevailed in all spheres of national life, ranging from "the municipalities, the diplomatic corps and the legislature to the horse races."(4) They were in favour of free-trade policies and firmly opposed any taxation which could have fostered industrial development. Despite the extraordinary revenues provided by the duty levied on nitrate exports, all governments during this period, from 1875 to 1920, borrowed substantial sums of money in the London market. From 1878 onwards, the Chilean currency was subjected to steady devaluation and the Gold Standard was abandoned almost completely.(5)

The continued devaluation of paper currency and the concomitant inflation worked in favour of the ruling class. Contemporary observers who visited Chile during the first decades of this century were struck by the degree of government indebtedness, the rate of inflation and the volume of money being printed by the Casa de Moneda during a period in which there was an ample availability of financial resources provided by nitrate exports. Referring to Chile during this period, A. MacLeish, an American traveller who visited the country early this century, contended that the social question in Chile

"is an economic problem partly created by the financial speculation of the landowners because the conservative rulers of Chile ... devalued their own currency by means of unnecessary issuance of paper money. They aimed at repaying with cheaper 'pesos' the mortgages they had undertaken in order to travel in Europe ... getting at the same time higher prices for their products and lower prices to pay for the toil of their peasants."(6)

Another observer, the British manager of the Anglo-South American Bank in Valparaíso wrote in 1913:

"What is there to show today for the fabulous sums Chile has pocketed from the heavy duty imposed on the export of nitrate? Alas! The answer is a depreciated paper currency, an increasing foreign debt, bankrupt municipalities, and an annual fiscal deficit."(7)

Though neither the ruling class nor the government in Chile had the will to industrialize the country, the nitrate wealth produced significant and largely involuntary changes in the social and economic structure, changes which were similar to contemporary developments in other countries of Latin America. The riches of landowners, miners and merchants, both Chilean and foreigners, led to a construction boom during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. With an extraordinary amount of financial resources, the state expanded the service sector and the number of civil servants grew as the party in power defended its electoral base through the extensive distribution of patronage. The urban centres of Santiago and Valparaíso, where economic activity was concentrated, grew at rates far higher than those of the rest of

the country. Railways continued to be built by the state and the economy in general expanded according to the size of the internal market. Light industries, based purely on the internal market, were allowed to develop although never to the extent where they would be able to export their products overseas. The economy grew moderately, given the constraints and lack of stimulus presented by an indifferent government and a minute internal market.

## 2. CHILE'S SOCIAL STRUCTURE DURING THE PERIOD

Although Chile benefitted from an unusual income provided by nitrate exports, the way in which incomes were distributed at a national level did not lead to a higher standard of living for the majority of the population. On the contrary, society was polarized into two main groups, the tiny plutocracy and the mass of the poor. Between poor and rich there existed an array of intermediate sectors affected by a process of constant impoverishment that led them to solidarise with the labouring class.

### Who were the rich?

All authors agree that wealth was concentrated in a very small number of families whose fortunes were originally based on the land and who later became involved in mining, commercial and financial enterprises. They also monopolised political power both in Congress and the Executive. Heise describes them as possessed by "the utilitarian endeavours that led them to an

inhuman exploitation of labour. Long and tiresome working hours, low wages, pitiless spoliation of female and child labour replaced the peaceful and restful ruralism of the mid-century."(8)

The Chilean plutocracy was permeated with the idea of progress in a very aristocratic sense. Progress for them meant the building of sumptuous urban mansions or summer residences in the newly developed seaside resorts, or the importation of the latest model of coach, or the acquisition of the expensive annual leases of the best boxes for opera performances in the Teatro Municipal. They wanted to be rich "a la française" and, if at all possible, in the best Versailles style.(9) These aristocratic traditions were maintained through social gatherings at the Club Hípico, the Chilean "Ascot"; at the Teatro Municipal during the Opera season; in promenades to the parks and the Alameda and in pompous receptions at the various Salones. Women fished for compliments wearing ostentatious dresses imported from Paris.(10)

Alejandro Venegas, a French language teacher of provincial origin who denounced the injustice prevailing in his times, viewed the rich as a social segment completely detached from Chile's reality. "The unanimous aspiration of the magnates" -he wrote- "is to maintain their privileged position and, if possible, to enlarge their fortunes without further effort; and the golden dream of all those who have enjoyed a reasonable instruction, is to become themselves magnates, i.e., to become as rich as Croesus thanks to the work of others."(11)

It should be said, however, that not all the gatherings were devoted to empty ostentation. There were some Salones where the latest trends in arts, politics and literature were discussed. The Salón of Martina Barros de Orrego, for instance, was renowned as a place for literary disquisitions and was visited by Rubén Darío, Blasco Ibañez, Rafael Calvo and other writers as well as ambassadors and political figures. At other Salones the main topics discussed were of a political nature, including themes dealing with liberal theories and individualism, the doctrines of Spencer, the problems of law and the constitution, and even the social question.(12)

#### Who were the poor?

In appalling contrast to the plutocracy, there was an enormous mass of unemployed, unskilled workers, peasants, miners and industrial labourers who lived in very harsh conditions. According to the census of 1907, the active population in Chile amounted approximately to 1,250,000 with nearly 40% employed in agricultural work. Manufacturing and domestic service shared 10% each and the rest of the labour force was distributed in commerce, construction, mining and various other occupations.(13)

There were many factors which make wage rates very difficult to calculate. First, they have to be contrasted with the ongoing rate of inflation in order to ascertain the value of real wages. Secondly, there were many occupations such as shoemakers, tailors, bakers, printers, textile workers and washerwomen which were paid at piece-rates. The length of daily working hours also

varied from one establishment to another, so that overall rates in one industry are not directly comparable with similar data in another. A fourth complication arises from the widespread use of the truck system whereby workers such as coalminers, nitrate miners, dock workers and even peasants were paid in tokens ("fichas") whose real value always was well below their nominal value. In some cases, for example peasants and bakers, workers also received part of their wages in kind.(14)

Whatever the difficulties involved in the calculation of wages, the scanty data available shows that men earned twice the wage of women and four times the wage of children. The Boletín of the SOFQFA, the association of Chilean industrialists, pointed out in 1905 that the mean daily wage in Santiago was 3.17 current pesos for men, 1.50 for women and .78 for children.(15) The labourer in the agricultural area was worst off. According to Nicolás Palacios, the average wage paid in rural areas was equivalent to one-quarter of agricultural wages paid in neighbouring Argentina, one-fifth of the English rural wage and one-eighth of the American farming wage.(16)

The appalling conditions in which the labouring men lived were most clearly reflected in the kind of housing they inhabited. Typical working class housing were the conventillos which around 1911 gave shelter to around 40% of Santiago's total population. The conventillos were deplorable shelters for the poor. They consisted of one or two doors in the street opening into a square courtyard. According to bye-laws passed as early as 1901 and 1906, the conventillos were supposed to be supplied with



fresh water in each room, drainage, communal toilets and kitchens. However, a survey carried out in 1919 showed that 35% of the conventillos had no running water or plumbing facilities. De Shazo points out that "contemporary sources unanimously agreed that conventillos were insanitary and often unfit for human habitation. Upper class visitors to the conventillos reacted strongly to the foul smells, filth, overcrowding and unhealthiness of such places, while working class critics of tenement housing generally focussed their attack on the high rent paid for each room."(17) According to Luis Emilio Recabarren, one of the outstanding organisers of the Chilean workers,

"life in the conventillos and in the outskirts of the towns is the compulsory school for vice and crime. Children are forced into vice pushed by the infamous example of their parents, ridden by vices and faults. The conventillos and outskirts of the towns are the doorways to prostitution and drink."(18)

The rapid migration of rural workers into the cities was not matched by a similar increase in the provision of housing for the newcomers. Given the poor transport facilities, the urban centres tended to concentrate more population in the same area instead of expanding the physical boundaries of the town. As early as in 1874 the British Minister in Chile had noted this peculiar tendency to concentrate the poor within the city boundaries instead of relegating them to the periphery. He described Santiago as a place

"of ugly contrasts, for cheek-by-jowl with palatial structures the most dismal hovels are to be seen there, poverty flaunting its rags at every step in the broad sunshine

instead of being relegated to remoter suburbs as in European great cities."(19)

This trend led to an acute concentration of population in the conventillos where, on average, there were 3 to 4 persons to one room. The Oficina de Trabajo in Chile found extreme cases of 10 persons to one room in 1911.(20)

It was not surprising, therefore, that the mortality rate, at 31.6%, was the highest in Latin America during the period 1900-1904. In the same period, one of every four children born in Chile died before reaching his first birthday. According to Edouard Seve, in those years the average life span was 25 years; grinding poverty, the appalling living conditions and the lack of medical assistance worsened the effect of epidemic diseases of which the poor were easy victims.(21)

Educational facilities for the poor were also very limited. Education was always a privilege for those who could afford it. According to the respective censuses, the proportion of illiterates was 71% in 1885, 68% in 1895, 60% in 1907 and 50% in 1920. A law making primary education compulsory was passed in 1920 but, to a large extent, it was not enforced because of the lack of schools. Secondary and tertiary education was almost completely outside the reach of the poor. The elitist character of the universities was also reflected in the censuses: in 1920, only 1 person in every 10,000 had access to a university.

#### Between the rich and the poor.

There has always been within Chilean society a wide sector

of population whose income and status is never so high as to call them rich and never so low as to call them poor. It would not be right to call it a "middle class" because it is not properly a social class. Also because the concept of a middle class, in a European context, is completely different. Julio Heise called this `sector grupo mesocrático.(22) César de León, who has studied these middle sectors in nineteenth century Chile, prefers to call them capas medias.(23) These capas medias, or middle sectors, were composed of a number of groups scarcely linked to one another. Partly they were the continuation of groups already in existence during colonial times, and partly they emerged as the product of an enlargement of the civil service, the army and public works during the "nitrate age" when the extension of the franchise forced the oligarchy to broaden the exercise of political patronage that kept them in power.

The older capas medias were emerged from the traditional social structure prevailing early in the nineteenth century: medium and small landowners, merchants, the middle ranks in the army, the common clergy, the members of liberal profesions such as doctors, lawyers and university teachers. Later in the century they were joined by new middle ranks, recruited for the civil service, the army and the teaching profession. Also, the enlargement of the commercial structure and the development of public transport and other public works permitted the development of small private enterprises linked to the mining and industrial sectors. A significant number of immigrants, especially from Europe, found a place among these sectors.

The pattern of social behaviour of the middle sectors varied according to the economic conditions of the country. When the economy was growing at the pace dictated by nitrates, the middle sectors tended to distance themselves from the lower sectors showing arrogance and disregard towards the poor. They tried to climb the social ladder by seeking high positions in the state bureaucracy or by trying to buy land in the Central Valley. As Heise has pointed out, in periods of economic success they showed "an aristocratic complex". He describes members of this group as determined to "hunt for invitations to embassies, trying to be seen in the official circles and to appear, at least, to be congratulating the authorities of the day, and also trying to trace their ancient lineage."(24)

When economic conditions changed, however, these capas medias tended to undergo a process of impoverishment which Jobet calls the "proletarianization" of the middle sectors. In those lean years, when the state could not afford to grant favours on a scale which could secure its patronage over the increasing numbers of civil servants, teachers, miners and even military men, these middle sectors turned to social criticism and did not hesitate to join the emerging working class sectors in order to promote social reforms.(25)

### 3. EL ESPEJO DEL TIEMPO: LILLO'S WORK IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

All the economic and social changes described in the foregoing pages took place within the short span of Lillo's life, from 1867 to 1923. It would be extremely difficult to find

another author so intensely impressed by the reality he was confronting. He was born in a mining village, lived in the countryside, moved to the capital as happened with thousands of provincial migrants at the turn of the century, saw the awakening of the working class, experienced the deprivations of the poor, and died from the disease that killed most of the slum dwellers and workers of his times. Small wonder that his work is so deeply permeated with the essence of his epoch.

Lillo has been acknowledged as the writer of the Chilean coalmines and it was indeed the exploitation that he saw in the mines of his native Lota which produced in him the first signs of social awareness. A brief account of the development of coalmining in Chile will serve as useful background for a better understanding of Lillo's narrative.

The presence of coal in Chile had been noticed even during colonial times. The coal deposits were located in the region of Concepción, not far from Lota. The quality, however, was reputed to be poor and indeed, several attempts to develop coalmining before 1840 failed miserably. When Darwin visited the region during the Beagle expedition in March, 1835, he described the product of "the best coal mine in Concepción" as worthless for industrial uses:

"As all the rest which I have seen, it is rather lignite than coal and occurs in a very modern formation. The mine is not worked, for the coal when placed in a heap has the singular property of spontaneously igniting. It is certain that several vessels have been set on fire."(26)

Darwin had observed, however, that there was the possibility that better quality seams could be found in lower and still unexplored layers.

The early advent of steam shipping on the Pacific coast of Chile and Perú in 1840, when the steamers appropriately called "Perú" and "Chile" were launched in the Thames and later sailed for Callao and Valparaíso, opened a commercial outlet for the better coal found at some mines in Talcahuano. The ships belonged to the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, an enterprise organised in London by the American entrepreneur William Wheelwright.

The better seams were found by the captain of the "Perú" who himself, assisted by the ship's blacksmith, designed and used a boring rod which enabled him to find good quality coal at the depth of 130 feet. The land was leased and the mines put into operation with urgency due to the difficulties experienced by the novice steam shipping company in obtaining good quality coal supplies either from Britain or from Australia. Therefore, the origins of the coal industry in Chile can be credited to Wheelwright who, by the end of 1841, had already produced "about 4,000 tons of coal and worked several thousand yards of galleries."(27)

Nevertheless, other than as occasional supplies for shipping, the coal found in the region of Concepción and Talcahuano had no important outlet until Chile's economy expanded with the discovery of new copper mines and the advent of the

railways. 1852 was the year when extensive exploitation of the mine at Lota began in earnest. The firm of Cousiño-Garland acquired the property and, after the retirement of Garland, Matías Cousiño began the construction of larger galleries in the early 1860s. He also imported new steam machinery from Britain and hired the services of British mining engineers. Output was increased and Chilean coal began to be exported to Panama and California. After Matías Cousiño's death in 1863, his son Luis took over the mine and in 1869 organised a joint stock company called Compañía Explotadora de Lota y Coronel with a capital of 5 million Chilean pesos (one million pounds sterling) which was divided into 5000 equal shares. Cousiño was the largest shareholder, though a small number of shares were allotted to his personal friends.(28)

When Luis Cousiño died, his widow was the only inheritor and she acquired the remaining shares to become the sole proprietress of the company. She was Isidora Goyeneche de Cousiño who, in the year that Lillo was born, was reputed to be the richest woman in the world. She had inherited 70 million pesos (14 million pounds sterling) and her annual profits were estimated at millions of pesos.(29) The wealth of Cousiño's family can be appreciated in terms of the life style they enjoyed. In the upper part of Lota, whose mine provided the bulk of their wealth, they landscaped a vast area and built a great park and garden described by some observers as one of the wonders of Chile and one of the most beautiful gardens in the world.(30) Others, however, found it to be just an expensive exercise in bad taste. A British traveller

visiting Chile in 1889 described Lota and its park as follows:

"On landing we found ourselves on a coal heap, surrounded by miserable hovels, in which workmen seemed to live... we hurried off in a boat to the flowers and trees of the Park of Lota, which is close to the collieries and copper works belonging to the Cousino family... The park covers several hundred acres, and it is laid out after the French style. Nature is diversified, but scarcely improved, with artificial grottoes, cascades, kiosks, and plenty of statuary and crockery ornaments. The work has evidently been executed regardless of expense, but a little less bad taste would have been advantageous."(31)

In Santiago they built a magnificent palace and, again, another large park with boating ponds and exotic flora. Beside the coal mine in Lota they owned other mines in Coronel, Buen Retiro and Playa Negra, copper smelting works, several factories producing glass, tiles and bricks, a railway and several harbours.(32) They also bought land in the Central Valley and became vinegrowers.(33)

In Lota itself, where Lillo grew up and worked at the pulpería, the Cousiños were absolute lords and masters. Not only the mines but also the village itself was their property. The Lota Lillo knew, therefore, was a world of abysmal contrasts. The colossal flow of riches provided by the coal mines contributed to sustaining the luxurious life of their owners but there were very few returns for the miners themselves. On the contrary, outside the boundaries of the stately mansion and garden in Lota, life was decidedly miserable.

With regard to Lillo's writing, his mining stories deal



sometimes in minute detail with conditions both in the actual mines and in the miners' dwellings. However, there is little mention of the other side of the coin, i.e., the sumptuous life of the mineowners. Was it because he feared reprisals from influential enemies? It seems likely. Simón Blanco stated that the publication of Subterra provoked the anger of the Compañía Explotadora de Lota y Coronel which "de buenas ganas habría hecho requisar la edición".(34) The official circles and groups concerned were taken by surprise and did not react with sufficient speed to stop the distribution of Subterra. After all, the first edition was sold out three months after publication and received the support of the majority of other contemporary writers.(35) The fact that Subterra was published and its distribution not hindered by the animosity of the dominant circles shows that the time in history when Lillo wrote was ripe for social criticism.

His brand of criticism, however, was not a cry of rebellion but rather a descriptive testimony of what actually happened in the coalmines. When Lillo arrived in Santiago, he was probably amazed at the degree of ignorance prevailing in the capital with regard to what was happening in the provinces. The literary circles he began to frequent had, so far, not touched those subjects which had connotations of social protest but his fellow authors were prepared to support Lillo in the dissemination of what he had to tell. As we have observed already, the writers at the Ateneo "begged him" to write his mining stories.(36)

In Subterra, therefore, the mere fact that the conditions of

life in the mines are described even without overt morals being drawn in terms of social criticism, still amounts to a denunciation of those conditions, an eye-opener for the urban population which was ignorant of the ways in which miners were being exploited.

There are countless instances in the stories of Subterra which can be construed as social criticism. The wages paid to the mineworkers offer a case in point; miners obtained their remuneration under piece-work contracts whereby a nominal payment was made per wheelbarrow load of coal delivered by the miner to the wagons. Earlier, in the 1860s, Ramírez had found that wages were being paid to the miners using strips of patent leather as tokens with values varying according to the shape of the tokens and holes punched in them. These charoles, as they were called, were used as currency in the coal mining areas and accepted by shopkeepers who had to redeem them at the Compañía Explotadora.(37) At the time when Lillo was working in the mining districts, i.e. by the 1880s, the system had been amended by the Company so as to absorb the role played by the independent shopkeeper. The Company itself set up a grocery shop - the Pulpería - which was the only place where the token money could be spent. Since so little money was involved in the settlement of wages, by the end of the nineteenth century the Company decided to pay in cash the resulting balance due to the miners after deducting from the nominal wage the amount of goods bought on credit by the miner at the Pulpería, the fines for absenteeism or for other breaches of discipline, and the barrow-loads of coal

rejected for poor quality.

Lillo, who himself was for some years an employee of the pulpería, was well informed about the system of remuneration employed by the Company. The situation is precisely illustrated in his story "El Pago", where the payment system employed forms the basis of the plot. It is impossible for Pedro María, the protagonist in the story, to have a clear idea of the amount of money he is to be paid. When the accounts are made up, the clerk informs Pedro María that, due to the discounts for fines, coal loads rejected and grocery credit sales, he has ended up owing the company "tres pesos".(38) Lillo also mentions elsewhere that wages were paid fortnightly and the balances of cash payable to the miners in most cases did not amount to more than a few cents. Some miners were forced to live heavily indebted to the Company and were, therefore, tied to the coalmine by a kind of serfdom.

The Company, as noted above, also owned the mining village and workers were provided with housing, which, again, reinforced the ties between the miner and the Company. The accommodation provided could scarcely be called houses but rather, as Elliot described them in 1909, huts.(39) These huts were located within the boundaries of the Company estate and only the families of the miners currently employed by the Company were allowed to occupy them. The threat of becoming redundant, therefore, involved the certainty of becoming destitute. And indeed, there was a large group of families living in appalling conditions on the edge of the village, the majority of them still living from what coal

they could recover from the sea.

In the stories "El Grisú", "El Chiflón del Diablo" and "El Registro" Lillo refers explicitly to the dismal housing conditions and the effects of evictions whether because of miners' protests, redundancy or death. In "El Registro," an old woman is thankful to the Company because she has been reprieved and her eviction stopped. She had committed a grave error: buying yerba mate in town instead of at the pulpería, according to the rules.

Lillo's descriptions of the dismal housing conditions prevailing in the mining districts are scattered throughout the stories that make up Subterra. He also refers to the similar conditions he found in his visit to the nitrate district in northern Chile.(40) Conditions were no better, possibly even worse, in other mining regions. Eugenio Chouteau, in a report published in 1887, described the Coquimbo miners as workers who "generally, slept on sheepskins or rugs; they seldom use beds ... they never change their clothes and rarely wash themselves, except on Sunday. Six to eight of them get together and they all live in a single room."(41) As we shall see later on, when we look at the urban situation, living and housing conditions in the working classes were of permanent concern to Lillo.

The working conditions prevailing at the mines are another major aspect of Lillo's description of life in Lota. It is true that coalminers in Lota did not have so bad a time as their colleagues in earlier periods or as those from other parts of

Chile. In April, 1835, while visiting a mining district in Central Chile, Darwin had noted in his diary, not without amazement, the harsh conditions the miners had to endure:

"It was quite revolting to see the state in which they reached the mouth of the mine; their bodies bent forward, leaning with their arms on the steps, their legs bowed, their muscles quivering, the perspiration streaming from their faces over their breasts, their nostrils distended, the corners of their mouth forcibly drawn back, and the expulsion of their breath most laborious. Each time they draw their breath, they utter an articulate cry of "ay-ay", which ends in a sound rising from deep in the chest, but shrill like the note of a fife. After staggering to the pile of ore, they emptied the carpacho; in two or three seconds recovering their breath, they wiped the sweat from their brows, and apparently quite fresh descended the mine again at a quick pace. This appears to me a wonderful instance of the amount of labour which habit, for it can be nothing else, will enable a man to endure."(42)

Incidentally, the writer Jose Joaquin Vallejos - who under the pseudonym "Jotabeche" was the first to introduce popular characters in his cuadros de costumbres - writing around the same time as Darwin, gave a description of the miners in northern Chile in terms remarkably similar to those used by Darwin about the miners of the Central Region. Jotabeche wrote:

"A la vista de un hombre medio desnudo que aparece en su bocamina, cargando a la espalda ocho, diez o doce arrobas de piedras, después de subir con tan enorme peso por aquella larga sucesión de galerías, de piques y de frontones; al oír el alarido penoso que lanza cuando llega a respirar el aire puro, nos figuramos que el minero pertenece a una raza más maldita que la del hombre, nos parece que es un habitante que sale de otro mundo menos feliz que el nuestro, y que el suspiro tan profundo que arroja al hallarse entre

nosotros es una reconvención amarga dirigida hacia el cielo por haberlo excluído de la especie humana. El espacio que media entre la bocamina y la cancha donde deposita el minero los metales lo baña con el sudor copioso que brota por todos sus poros; cada uno de sus acompasados pasos va acompañado de un violento quejido; su cuerpo encorvado, su marcha difícil, su respiración apresurada, todo, en fin, demuestra lo mucho que sufre. Pero apenas tira al suelo la carga, bebe con ansia un vaso de agua y desaparece de nuevo, entonando un verso obsceno, por el laberinto embovedado de aquellos lugares de tinieblas."(43)

In Lota the situation was not as bad as the descriptions quoted from Darwin and Jotabeche would suggest for other regions of Chile in mid-century. After all, the Cousiños had realised the advantages of introducing modern machinery. Nevertheless, working conditions there were still very hard. José Angulo, in his "Una excursión a Lota" published in 1876, wrote:

"... y allí, con el aire rarificado, con la hediondez y la amenaza de los gases que a veces se inflaman, con luces artificiales sujetas a cada sombrero o gorrilla; allí viven, trabajan, pasan sus días y sus años, desde la niñez hasta la vejez, seres que pudieran ser racionales, seres que se parecen al que esto escribe y a los que esto han de leer, hombres, en fin, que si no lo son es porque la sociedad no lo permite.. ¡Gran Dios!"(44)

The coalminer in Lillo's stories is subject to very long working hours. In "El Alma de la Máquina", for instance, Lillo asserts that "la silueta del maquinista... se destaca desde el amanecer hasta la noche en lo alto de la plataforma de la máquina. Su turno es de 12 horas consecutivas."(45) If Lillo's assertion was true, then working shifts had not been

substantially altered since the early 1860s. According to Leonidas García, describing a normal day at the Lota mines in the 1860s,

"coal cutters and loaders start their shift at 5.00 a.m. in summer and 6.00 a.m. in winter and leave either at 5.00 or 6.00 p.m. respectively. They have their meals in the interior of the mines. At appropriate times their comrades (as they call their wives) meet at the mouth of the pit with baskets containing food. These are placed in the lift according to a given sequence and one man carries the baskets down the shaft."(46)

The long working hours, however, were not the main problem because, even in the last years of the nineteenth century, such hours were very much the norm in most occupations. The main problem involved the conditions of work within the mine itself. In "El Pago" Lillo gives a graphic description of labour on the coal face describing the work which Pedro María had to do:

"En aquella estrechísima ratonera el calor era insoportable. Pedro María sudaba a mares y de su cuerpo, desnudo hasta la cintura, brotaba un cálido vaho que con el humo de la lámpara formaba a su alrededor una especie de niebla cuya opacidad, impidiéndole ver con precisión, hacía más difícil la dura e interminable tarea. La escasa ventilación aumentaba su fatiga, el aire cargado de impurezas, pesado, asfixiante, le producía ahogos y accesos de sofocación y la altura de la labor, unos noventa centímetros escasos, sólo le permitía posturas incómodas y forzadas que concluían por entumecer sus miembros, ocasionándole dolores y calambres intolerables."(47)

Eugenio Chouteau contended in his report that because of the unhealthy conditions prevailing in the mines and the lack of adequate ventilation the miners were easily stricken with T.B. or

consumption, a disease that caused more damage than cholera itself. In fact, a significant number of Lota miners ended their days in the lazarettos that were permanently established in Lota itself and in neighbouring Coronel.(48)

Children were subject to the same hours and conditions of work. According to Chile's Mining Law, the minimum age for work in the mines was 12 years. The law, however, was never enforced in the coalmines. As Lillo illustrates in "La Compuerta No. 12", it was common to see eight year olds working underground. The verosimilitude of Lillo's story is confirmed by contemporary documents. A traveller who visited Lota in 1894 wrote of the brick factory, yet another of Cousiño's enterprises,

"it is truly colourful to observe the work of 80 to 100 children working in this section... In all the varied operations which have to be carried out with mechanical accuracy and uniformity, their work resembles the work of a large steam machinery ... I also saw a coalmine in Boca de Maule which, among children and adults, had a workforce of six hundred and eighty."(49)

As we pointed out in Chapter II, child labour was not only accepted but even encouraged by the miners themselves. As soon as a member of the family was able to work, all necessary efforts were carried out by the father in order to get another contribution to the meagre earnings of the family. Surprisingly, by contrast with Britain and France, no women labourers were employed in the Chilean coal mines. The only reason for this was the superstitious belief, strongly held by the miners, that a woman in the pit would inexorably lead to a catastrophe.



The long hours worked by the miners had become a necessity by the end of the nineteenth century because the machinery that had been introduced during the 1860s was no longer as efficient as before and output became more and more a function of labour, rather than of technology. Lota's coal faced very strong competition from British and Australian suppliers, particularly because the shipping involved in the export of nitrates did not have large volumes of cargo to import into Chile and foreign coal, used in some cases as ballast, arrived at Chilean shores at very competitive prices. It was only in 1898, when Doña Isidora Goyeneche had died, that the company underwent a reorganization. The name was changed to "Nueva Compañía de Lota y Coronel", the capital was increased to 18 million pesos divided into 180,000 shares at \$100 each and new surveys were carried out by engineers and technicians imported from Britain in order to find better seams and introduce new machinery.(50)

The availability of cheap British and Australian coal in the Chilean market, plus the introduction of new machinery in the mines of Lota and Coronel resulted in a large number of miners being made redundant. The prevalence of a better bargaining position for the mineowners favoured the abuses and injustices committed against the workers. It is precisely against this background that Lillo wrote his mining stories. This explains the application of arbitrary fines in "El Pago"; the long working hours mentioned in "El Alma de la Máquina", the high prices charged in the pulpería, as mentioned in "El Pago" and "El Registro", the despotic rule of the foreman in "El Chiflón del

Diablo" and "El Grisú" and the general atmosphere of misery and privation which is apparent in all these stories.

Having lived part of his childhood in a rural setting, Lillo was also an eyewitness to what was happening in the countryside during the later part of the nineteenth century and his short stories reflect the rigid social structure of the Chilean haciendas.

In their origins, the Chilean haciendas had emerged from the manorial system organised by the Spanish Colonial administration whereby the land had been allotted by the King as mercedes de tierras in reward for services rendered by the Conquistadores. Labour was also provided in the form of encomienda indígena which consisted of a given number of Indians put under the care of the conquistador and given the task of working the land for their lord. The system changed during the second half of the eighteenth century and after independence from Spain. The impoverishment of Spaniards, the process of assimilation of the Indians and the division of the large properties transformed the old encomienda into the inquilinaje system. Under this system, the landlord still had his peasants tied to the land; they were the inquilinos who were allotted a small plot of land by the hacendado and had to pay the rent with labour, working on the lands of the owner.(51)

The opening of new international markets for agricultural products from Chile furthered the development of inquilinaje by multiplying the number of plots allotted to new inquilinos and by

expanding the arable land in the haciendas. Claudio Gay noted in the 1860s that there existed some haciendas with more than a thousand inquilinos.(52) The expansion of arable land was usually attained by abolishing the commons and by reducing in general the land resources available to the peasants.(53)

At the time when Lillo wrote his rural stories the hacienda was a closed institution subject to the absolute control of the landlord. There was, however, a landless rural population which existed beyond the confines of the hacienda. These were the peones or afuerinos who, at the time of harvest, found seasonal employment in the haciendas. The conditions of life for the afuerinos were obviously worse than those of the inquilinos. The existence of this mass of landless peasants who were unemployed during a large portion of the year explains the all too frequent cases of brigandage and rustling in the rural areas. As Salazar has recently pointed out, vagabondage was common among the poor in nineteenth century Chile. "This sub-proletariat" -wrote Salazar- "was constantly subject to forced conscription either to join the ranks of the army or a revolutionary faction of the elites".. "certainly, not a negligible number of them ended their days in quarrels, at the hands of the police or the militiamen, through hazardous working conditions, in the wars or in natural accidents."(54)

In Lillo's countryside stories there is a clear reflection of those two worlds. On the one hand, there is the institutionalised hacienda where the landowner is lord and master and rules undisputedly over his inquilinos. The inquilino

accepts this rule and never rebels against the patrón, and the hacienda seems to be a model of social harmony. On the other hand, there is the afuerino who, literally, lives on the fringes of the hacienda and is always depicted in Lillo's stories as a cattle robber and a murderer. According to Lillo, the presence of the afuerinos creates signs of rebellion among the inquilinos, when the patrón forces them to commit an outrage against their religious and superstitious beliefs. In his story "La Chascuda" the patrón suspects that the ghost is an afuerino; but when he gives the order to his inquilinos to wait in the dark for La Chascuda:

"ninguno se movió. Acostumbrado a que cumplieran mis mandatos... casi no podía concebir tal desacato y ciego de rabia empuñé la guasca y empecé a repartir azotes a diestra y siniestra. Cuando cansado bajé el brazo, una voz que conocí ser la de Pedro me dijo: 'Patrón, llévenos adonde está la cuadrilla del Cola de Chicharra y aunque seamos uno contra diez, no recularemos carta. Una cosa son los duendes y ánimas en pena y otra hombres de carne y hueso. Un cristiano no debe ponerse a cazar fantasmas. Las cosas del otro mundo son sagradas, patrón, y el que se mete con ellas tienta a Dios, nuestro Señor, que permite las apariciones.'"(55)

As Lillo describes it, there exist some signs of rebellion, but the peasants maintain an uncomplaining attitude even when they go to the mine. Thus peasants have not yet acquired social consciousness. Other stories such as "El Vagabundo", "El Angelito" and "La Mano Pegada" also have a strong religious content which is part of the culture of inquilinos already settled in the hacienda. In other stories such as "La Cruz de Salomón", "Malvavisco", "Quilapán" and "La Trampa" the main

protagonist is the outlawed robber, murderer or simple tramp who is always seen as a disruptive element vis-à-vis the conformist relationships existing in the hacienda.

This divided rural society had a similar political expression which helps to explain the conformism of those who worked in the manors and the rebelliousness of those who did not. The semi-servility of the inquilinos was certainly due to their dependence on the landlord's provision of food, housing and work both for themselves and their family. They were, therefore, prepared to accept the harsh conditions imposed by their master because they risked jeopardising a situation which, however humble and deprived, was still more bearable than that of their landless counterpart. As for the afuerino, he was more independent from the hacienda and its patrón and less likely to become frightened by the rules imposed by the hacendados. Living rough for most of the year, as they did, those people had learned to survive without being subservient to a patrón. It is not surprising then that, although the landowners were prepared to show some degree of paternalism toward their inquilinos, their attitude towards the lawlessness-prone afuerinos was one of contempt and open repression.

Lillo gives a lucid image of these rural relationships in the characters portrayed in "La Mano Pegada". Don Simón Antonio, the landowner, is always looked upon by his peasants with respect and subservience. Even his most senior collaborators such as his administrator and his cattleman, "siguen al patrón a respetuosa

distancia."(56) The same story also shows the close relationship between wealth and the judiciary that existed in the countryside. Don Simón is not only a powerful landowner but also the sheriff or the law-enforcing authority in the district of his hacienda. His position of authority is used to express his ancestral contempt for the afuerino. In Don Simón, Lillo summarises the landowners stance toward the afuerinos:

"Cuando se le designó para juez de aquel distrito rural ... se convirtió en un perseguidor implacable de los merodeadores, de los mendigos, de los vagabundos y de cuanto pobre diablo le parecía sospechoso. En su obsesión de ver criminales por todas partes, la falta más leve adquiría a sus ojos las proporciones de un delito cuyo castigo ejecutado por su propia mano revestía, a veces, caracteres de crueldad salvaje."(57)

The landowners were not only masters in their own dominions; their power could also be exercised at a national level by gaining office in the public administration or in Congress. Their election as Deputies or Senators was not attained without the collaboration of their accomplices capable of rigging the polls in order to ensure a post in Congress. In the short story "Pesquisa Trágica" Lillo mentioned this kind of electoral fraud in which the free will of the peasants is the last consideration in the minds of the landowners when they are planning their electoral campaigns. What matters most is the assurance that the local powers will act in favour of the landowners and will take them to Congress in exchange for promotions or posts in public administration. The young chief of police in "Pesquisa Trágica",

"en época de elecciones era un elemento valiosísimo porque para raspar un acta, hacer

un tutti, asaltar una mesa y secuestrar un vocal, tenía aptitudes sobresalientes. Con estos méritos, nadie extrañó, por lo tanto en M., que a raíz de su triunfo en la última campaña electoral, el Senador X obtuviese para su protegido el puesto de Comandante de Policía de la comuna."(58)

The nature of the division between the established hacienda and the marginal world of afuerinos and vagabonds in the Chilean countryside was not permanent. The dividing line was frequently crossed in both directions and inquilinos were never completely certain that their position would remain unaltered. The extension of arable land by the end of the nineteenth century certainly permitted the settlement of a large number of afuerinos in the land reclaimed from the woods or usurped from the Indians.(59) On the other hand, as Lillo illustrates in his short story "La Cruz de Salomón", all those who within the hacienda fell out with the patron or with the rules that governed the rural districts immediately fled the hacienda and joined the ranks of the outcasts.(60)

The southward territorial expansion of the traditional hacienda system by the 1860s had reached the Indian lands of the La Frontera region. The Mapuche Indians had resisted Spanish invasions for nearly three centuries and the Spanish Crown, even at the peak of its imperial might, always failed to subjugate them. In fact, the Mapuches continued to guard their cherished independence until the early 1870s. It was only with the advent of modern weaponry and the determined efforts made by both Chile and Argentina that the nomadic Indian population was decimated and the survivors forced to live in reserves. The Indian

rebellion of 1867-72 was the last attempt to resist the invasion of the hacendados spreading southwards from Central Chile.(61)

Whether by force or by deception, the Indians were inexorably dispossessed of their land. Although this is a process of long duration which still goes on in our own day, the major episode of Indian clearances took place in the later part of the nineteenth century, when Lillo was living in the countryside. This significant period in Chilean history was also recorded in Lillo's prose as yet another paradigm of the conflicting relationships between hacendados and indios. In his short story "Quilapán", Lillo shows, in documentary style, one of the methods used to evict Indians from their land: the forging of documents which purported to be a transfer of the Indians' title deeds. The story shows a landowner, Don Cosme, who has taken over most of the land surrounding the property of the Indian Quilapán and is eager to incorporate into his property the small plot which Quilapán still owns. According to Lillo, the ambitious Don Cosme, "como todo propietario blanco, creía sinceramente que apoderarse de la tierra de esos bárbaros que, en su indolencia, no sabían siquiera cultivar ni defender, era una obra meritoria en pro de la civilización."(62)

Quilapán, however, is depicted by Lillo as the epic inheritor of the legendary Araucanians who are prepared to die defending their land. Just as the Incas were bound to their Pachamama or "Motherland", the Mapuche is also religiously attached to his land. Lillo puts Quilapán's thoughts into the following words: " ¡Vender, enajenar!... Eso, ¡nunca! Pues,



mientras el dinero se va sin dejar rastro, la tierra es eterna, jamás nos abandona. Como madre amorosa nos sustenta sobre la vida y abre sus entrañas para recibirnos en ellas cuando se llega a la muerte."(63)

In the story, Quilapán, defenceless against Don Cosme's deception and forgery which are abetted by the legal system itself, still keeps his pride and, in an unyielding stand, dies defending his land alone, using his old spear against the men from the hacienda. His family had escaped to the mountains probably to join the mass of afuerinos, vagabonds and castaways who either worked as seasonal labour in other haciendas or pillaged the livestock and the property of the hacendados.

"Quilapán", is a paradigm, a narration marshalled by historical evidence. G. F. Scott Elliot, a British traveller who visited Chile at the turn of the century, spoke of the "land-sharks" who operated in the Indian districts during the second half of the nineteenth century. He wrote:

"So soon as, by President Bulnes' decree of 1843, the intentions of the government as regard colonisation were declared, speculation began ... The agents of sharp men-of-business travelled through the Indian country and hastily unearthed the Indian Chief. With him they made great friends by means of quantities of cheap brandy; and after they had won his confidence, it was easy, with plenty of drink, to carry him to a notary, where he was delighted to sign away his title to his own or other Indians' land for a very trifling sum. One person is said to have gained 600,000 morgen of land (1,302,000 acres) by such methods... Only the government seems to have been ignorant of the proceedings of these industrious and

energetic people."(64)

As a matter of fact, the government was not ignorant of what was going on in the Indian districts. On the contrary, Horacio Lara quotes in his Crónica de la Araucanía, the following communication sent by General Cornelio Saavedra, a Government envoy during the 1870s in charge of the "pacification of the Araucanía":- "Señor Presidente: Angol ha sido ocupado sin resistencia. Puedo asegurar a Vuestra Excelencia que, salvo pequeños tropiezos de poca importancia, la ocupación de Arauco no nos costaría sino mucho mosto y mucha música."(65)

The process of colonization of areas formerly occupied by the Indians permitted both the expansion of Chilean landowners and the settlement of German immigrants. Although the area of arable land was extended, the countryside was not able to absorb all the labour available. One reason for this was the fact that the German immigration in the provinces of Osorno and Valdivia reduced the potential number of places available for Chilean peasants. Another perhaps more significant reason has been advanced by Cristóbal Kay. He has suggested that due to the decline in wheat exports at a period when arable land was being extended in the south, the farmers of Central Chile tended to change the use of their land and turned it to pasture because livestock prices were higher by the end of the nineteenth century.(66) Since cattle raising requires less labour than wheat growing, in terms of the labour supply in the countryside, the above changes resulted in a dramatic reduction in the number of places available for the inquilinos, let alone for the

afuerinos. The number of peasants without access to the land, therefore, grew enormously by the end of the nineteenth century and this mass of redundant labour had to go somewhere.

These changes in the structure of the countryside and the way in which labour was affected, certainly explain the significant urban development that took place in Chile at the turn of the century. Lillo himself was part of the massive country-town migration that occurred at the turn of the century and his prose again bears witness to the effects of those changes on the emerging and unprepared urban environment.

According to the Chilean censuses, between 1865 and 1907 the urban population of Central Chile, that is mainly Santiago and Valparaíso, had a net inflow of 311,000 immigrants. This was in addition to the natural increase in population according to the average birth and mortality rates. On the other hand, during the same period, the rural population in Central Chile alone underwent a net loss of 481,000 inhabitants who had mostly emigrated to urban areas.(67) The rates of population growth in Chile during the second half of the nineteenth century to 1907 show a remarkable increase in urban population.(68) The reality of deprivation among those forcibly expelled from the countryside and not totally accepted by the urban environment could not have escaped Lillo's attention. Indeed, all those of his short stories which are set in an urban context reflect the critical processes of urban development as a stark reality.

In the stories where the subject matter is the town, as in his mining stories, Lillo does not write explicitly about the oppressors. The main characters are the men and women who dwell in the miserable tenements called conventillos. Occasionally, however, he also introduces characters from the middle sectors, particularly those whose main ambition is either to climb socially or, at least, to keep up appearances so that their social decline would pass unnoticed by their neighbours. Lillo portrays these social groups with touches of satire and humorous criticism. In "La Propina", for instance, De Palomares is the prototype of a social climber who seeks to better himself either by a marriage of convenience or by opportunist social connections with the rich. Also in "Era él solo", Doña Benigna pretends to be a pious and charitable person in front of her relations and in "Las Niñas", the two sisters appear to be distinguished and generous ladies when, in fact, they are starving. These stories clearly reflect the impoverishment of the middle sectors in Santiago and Valparaíso to which we have referred above, and which was also witnessed by Lillo when he left Lota and moved to the capital.

Nevertheless, while in Santiago, Lillo was not so much impressed by the decline of the middle sectors as he was by the tremendous poverty of the working classes. His urban stories are full of direct testimonies of deprivation. There is an element of social denunciation in the way in which he refers to the lack of services for the poor. Education, for instance, was a service beyond their reach. In theory, the schools that existed were open

to all children, but in reality, being abysmally insufficient, they only served the middle sectors and the rich. In the story "En el Conventillo", for instance, Lillo explains through one of the characters that, despite the interest in education, a poor mother cannot gain admission for her children because, she says, "sin zapatos no pueden ir a la escuela: no los admiten."

In the short story "Carlitos" and again in "En el Conventillo", the filthy housing conditions and the ignorance of the people are presented by Lillo as causes of the high number of fatal illnesses which affected children in particular. The poor sanitary conditions that prevailed in urban districts were responsible for high mortality rates in Chile at the turn of the century. Santiago and Valparaíso, as well as the other smaller towns, were annually affected in succession by devastating epidemic diseases - bubonic plague, smallpox, typhoid fever and typhus. As late as 1921 an epidemic of smallpox in Santiago caused the death of more than 1000 Santiaguinos per month, while between 1919 and 1921, typhus killed more than 6000 people. Despite the large number of deaths caused by epidemics, the major killers were still tuberculosis and respiratory diseases which accounted for more than 26 per cent of all deaths during those years.(69)

The centre of Santiago where the well-to-do lived, was a very modern area where sewage works had been carried out very early in the new century. In the poor areas, however, such sanitary facilities were utterly unknown. El Mercurio of Valparaíso wrote in 1905: "This city ... today presents the

picture of those towns of the Middle Ages, in times in which public hygiene was unknown: ... (it is) fetid, infected, pestilent, with its streets covered with a thick layer of fermenting filth."(70) Such poor sanitary conditions determined a permanent state of ill-health in the labouring classes and the situation was aggravated by the lack of proper medical care. This explains the frequent references to folk healers such as curanderas and compositores in Lillo's urban stories.(71)

In his urban stories Lillo directly points to another disturbing aspect of life in the working class districts: the condition of women. Unlike their menfolk who escaped harsh reality by turning to alcoholism, working class women had to face misery squarely and were more directly affected by it. Lillo vividly shows in "En el Conventillo", "Las Niñas" and "Carlitos" the hard toil of women who must bring up numerous offspring and, at the same time, work as washerwomen and seamstresses for a few cents.

#### 4. LILLO AND THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL PROTEST IN CHILE.

The "social question" was a recurrent topic in the Chilean press and in the Congress during the period 1880-1924. It coincided with phenomena which we have already described: the emergence of urbanisation, the impoverishment of the middle sectors, and the enlargement of the urban proletariat. According to James Morris, the term "social question" has a wide significance, and refers to all the social and ideological

consequences of industrialization and urbanisation which brought into being new masses of workers detached from the countryside and inserted into a market economy. The social question was a permanent topic for discussion involving, among others, the increasingly complex problems of housing, health and medical care, and educational facilities for the poor. A wide array of institutions emerged, whose aim was to help the working class and to further their interests, either by moral preaching, mutual cooperation or confrontation with the establishment. The emergence of social protest also brought about its counterpart: the sophistication of methods of repression and the mass killing of protesters.(72)

Class consciousness and repression developed in parallel. The ruling oligarchy, not hitherto opposed by any other social group, felt for the first time that their monopoly of power, if not immediately threatened, was being subjected to a serious long term challenge. Repression, therefore, was the systematic response of the state to active social protest. During the period 1902-1910 all the political and social movements in which the working class was involved were decisively repressed on explicit orders from the governments first of President Germán Riesco and then of President Pedro Montt.

On the other hand, workers for the first time became capable of organising public protests and strikes which involved people from different factories and enterprises; they even, in some isolated cases, engaged in movements which can properly be called "national strikes". The most important movements were followed

by violence and looting in the main streets of the towns; typically they lasted for several days until finally hundreds of rioters were killed by the police. One example of this was the dockers' strike of 1903 in Valparaíso which ended with the burning of the "Compañía Sudamericana de Vapores", when the government refused to accept the workers' demands. In Santiago, another important strike was organised in 1905 to protest against the rise in meat prices. Once again, the strike ended with dramatic consequences when more than 200 demonstrators lost their lives.(73)

Lillo was profoundly disturbed by the 1905 strike in Santiago. He expressed his reproach in "La Carga" saying:

"Los sables salen de las vainas con un claro y vibrante chirrido y los soldados de kepis y dormán azules sueltan la rienda de sus caballos y se precipitan contra el formidable enemigo. ¡Oh! los heroes! ¡Oh! los ¡valientes! Con que coraje esgrimen la cortante hoja sobre las cabezas inermes, sobre los pálidos rostros de las mujeres, las blancas testas de los ancianos y las rizadas cabelleras de los niños! ... Esos soldados ayer no más formaban parte de esa multitud anónima y sus manos que hoy empuñan la cuchilla del verdugo, guardan aún las señales indelebles del martillo y de la azada."

Lillo's final remark clearly points to the fact that a significant number of the afuerinos evicted from the countryside, had been recruited by the army which, in the absence of international conflicts, used the young conscripts to repress those of their own kind. Lillo indeed insists upon this point: "El paria, el explotado de ayer sablea hoy y degüella sin misericordia a los que hace poco eran sus iguales y que, en el



tugurio o en el rancho, compartían sus trabajos y sufrían su miseria."(74)

In 1907, the formidable strike in the nitrate districts of Iquique was to have a profound effect on Lillo's literary career. This strike involved more than 10,000 workers, and ended in the most brutal repression ever exercised in Chile against a single group of miners. This was the episode which moved Lillo to conceive a novel based on the life and struggles of the nitrate miners - a work which he was to leave largely unfinished. During the strike, the workers abandoned their mines and marched to Iquique in their thousands. Their demands included a wage that took into account the steep price rises and the acute inflation of those years; the end of the much hated fichas or tokens in which their wages were paid; safety measures to prevent the frequent accidents in the nitrate plants, and the establishment of free retail trading in the nitrate districts so that the monopoly of the pulperías could be terminated. The strikers gathered in the "Santa María" school in Iquique; there, after some delaying tactics while they waited for reinforcements from the Chilean Navy, the troops surrounded the workers. The authorities gave the workers an ultimatum which they refused to obey, and there ensued a terrible massacre of about 2000 miners.(75)

The above manifestations of unrest among the workers, together with countless other strikes and demonstrations organised in other parts of Chile demonstrated the growth in quantity and quality of workers' organisations. According to De Shazo, such

growth was a very steady process during the first decade of the twentieth century. Between 1902 and 1908, "societies for resistance" played a major role in leading the workers in their active protests against social injustice. However, social consciousness among the workers spread only slowly.

The first organisations in which the workers were involved were formed by the middle of the nineteenth century. These were the Sociedades de Socorros Mutuos (mutual aid societies) organised by artisans and skilled workers. Their main aims were of a practical nature. They provided their members with sickness or accident pay, a "dignified" burial, death benefits to dependents and, in some cases, modest retirement pay.(76) Their meetings were also frequented by social democrats, freethinkers, Utopian socialists, Marxists and anarchists, and their small libraries contained books by Proudhon, Saint Simon, Blanqui, Bakunin, Kropotkin and many other non-orthodox thinkers.(77)

The "mutualist" movement, however, as Jobet has pointed out, did not significantly improve the living conditions of the working class as a whole. "The labouring classes" -wrote Jobet- "continued to suffer almost incredible conditions of exploitation and they continued to be a passive mass which was only occasionally active and then only as the bandwagon of the liberal bourgeoisie and its representatives."(78)

The emergence of an independent working class movement with a new leadership occurred only towards the end of the nineteenth century. It developed in two main traditions: anarchism and

socialism. The anarchist tendency was not very strong until 1902. Their first attempt to publish the periodical "El Oprimido" in 1893 was aborted by police intervention. In 1898 Magno Espinoza organised an anarchist group called Rebelión which did succeed in publishing "La Tromba". Alejandro Escobar y Carvallo, formerly a journalist with socialist tendencies, also joined the anarchists and the number of publications increased dramatically.(79)

The anarchists read Kropotkin as well as Marx. Like the anarchists in other parts of the world, their ideal was absolute freedom "without other limits than the impossibilities of Nature and the wants of their neighbours."(80) As a matter of principle, they rejected all established authority and government. In practical terms, they supported direct action by the workers and favoured the idea that power would be attained by a general strike. The Chilean anarchists developed strong links with their counterparts in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Europe and, in particular, the United States.

The socialist current, on the other hand, was made up of an array of groups the most important of which was the left tendency within the Partido Democrático. This was a party organised in 1887 by dissidents from the old Radical Party to represent the interests of the middle sectors, the artisans and the workers.(81) One leader among the most militant party members was to play a crucial role in the development of class consciousness among the labouring masses; his name was Luis

Emilio Recabarren.

Although on most occasions anarchists and socialists joined forces to further the success of strikes and street demonstrations, each group had different objectives. Whereas the anarchists aimed for an absolute rupture with the establishment, the socialists were seeking "a place in the sun" trying to achieve respectability and a voice that could be heard in Congress and public opinion. This was a dilemma that haunted the Chilean labour movement for a very long period.(82)

When Lillo arrived in Santiago, at the end of 1897, working class organisations were beginning to take a new turn. The old mutual aid societies, or mancomunales as they were called, were being transformed into more combative trade unions under the leadership of Recabarren and other socialists; at the same time, the anarchists were achieving success in organising the sociedades de resistencia which were to become even more combative than the socialist unions. The anarchist labour movement was the pacemaker of social struggles during the hectic first decade of this century.(83)

It is no doubt a source of disappointment for those who study Lillo's development as a writer and who are primarily concerned with working class history to find no traces of political commitment in his work. There is not one single reference in either his writings or the testimonies of his brother Samuel, or in other contemporary writers to support the contention that Lillo had a strong political view either for or

against those working class organisations, whether anarchist or socialist, which were flourishing during the early part of the present century. Nevertheless, it is possible to advance some feasible notions to support the hypothesis that Lillo's literary trajectory had an implicit political counterpart.

It can be suggested, for example, that Lillo's perception of the working class was in constant evolution in accordance with the political developments which he witnessed during his life. In his early countryside and mining stories, Lillo was obsessed with the idea that the working man had no political consciousness. His short stories never mentioned cases of organised protest against social oppression. The only responses from the workers entailing elements of social protest, according to Lillo's stories, are isolated and irrational actions; they do not transcend the sphere of activity of isolated individuals. These responses can take the form of robbery (as in the case of the cattle robbers in the stories "La Trampa" and "El Angelito"), or the insane explosion caused in "El Grisú" as an act of pure revenge against the cruel English foreman. In other cases, Lillo shows the workers as prone to escapist behaviour either by drinking too much or gambling on cockfights. In most cases, however, the image of the workers that Lillo conveys in his earlier stories is one of remarkable passivity. It is the vision of the inquilino always respectful towards the patrón. Even in the coalmining stories passivity is the major ingredient in the attitudes of the miners. In "El Chiflón del Diablo", for instance, when an explosion kills a number of miners and the

women raise their fists in anger shouting " ¡Asesinos, Asesinos! against the English engineers who are thought to have caused the accident, it is the miners themselves who hold back the protesters and try to restore calm and peace.(84)

This pessimistic perception of the workers, however, need not to be seen as absolute. Lillo can hardly have been unaware that the time, the end of the nineteenth century, was not ripe for organised protest because the workers had not yet reached a level of consciousness and organisation that could lead them to transform society. In fact, there had been cases of protests in the coalmines from very early times. Vitale has shown that during the civil war in 1859, the miners of Lota and Coronel joined one of the factions and initiated a major insurrection in the mining region.(85) Until 1898, however, there are no signs of workers' organisation in the coal mining districts. It was only in that year, when Lillo had already left for Santiago, that an anarchist union was organised in Lota: the "Unión de Obreros en Resistencia del Carbón."(86)

It is not surprising, therefore, that Lillo's perception of the miners should be pessimistic. What labour protest there was while Lillo was in Lota, was necessarily a history of failure, doubtless because of this lack of organisation. Lillo, reasonably enough, presents the workers as still unprepared to assume their historical role. Nothing can convey this idea more forcibly than the speech of the old miner in "Los Inválidos" where the expectant miners watch an old horse being disposed of

because it can no longer pull the carts in the pit:

"¡Pobre viejo, te echan porque ya no sirves! Lo mismo nos pasa a todos. Allí abajo no se hace distinción entre hombres y bestias. Agotadas las fuerzas, la mina nos arroja como la araña arroja fuera de su tela el cuerpo exangüe de la mosca que le sirvió de alimento. ¡Camaradas, este bruto es la imagen de nuestro destino! ¡Como él callamos, sufriendo resignados nuestro destino! Y, sin embargo, nuestra fuerza y poder son tan inmensos que nada bajo el sol resistiría su empuje. Si todos los oprimidos con las manos atadas a la espalda marchásemos contra nuestros opresores, cuan presto quebrantaríamos el orgullo de los que hoy beben nuestra sangre y chupan hasta la médula de nuestros huesos. Los aventaríamos, en la primera embestida, como un puñado de paja dispersa por el huracán. Son tan pocos, es su hueste tan mezquina ante el ejército innumerable de nuestros hermanos que pueblan los talleres, las campiñas y las entrañas de la tierra!"(87)

The above paragraph reflects a high degree of social awareness in the character, and this is presumably shared by Lillo himself, but within the story, this is explicitly shown as a purely individual case. It does not represent the views of the miners as a group. On the contrary, the rest of the miners in the story cannot understand the meaning of the old man's harengue. In Lillo's words, the miners

"miraban con curiosidad a su compañero aguardando uno de esos discursos extraños e incomprensibles que brotaban a veces de los labios del minero a quien consideraban como poseedor de una gran cultura intelectual, pues siempre había en los bolsillos de su blusa algún libro desencuadernado y sucio cuya lectura absorbía sus horas de reposo y del cual tomaba aquellas frases y términos ininteligibles para sus oyentes."(88)

Lillo, on this evidence, may have seen a divorce between the most conscious miners and the rest, between the leadership and the masses. This idea is reiterated in his later narration "La Carga" where the protesters in the streets of Santiago are viewed as "la masa inconsciente y torpe." (89) Such a view on Lillo's part entailed a veiled criticism of the way in which the workers were being organised during the early part of the century. It is quite possible that such reservations on his part prevented him from taking a more militant stand in favour of the working class, at least at that stage.

This early pessimism, however, was later to undergo some modification. The new workers' organisations proved very efficient in the years 1904-07 and Lillo seems to have felt some temptation to join the anarchist movement. At least, as González Vera mentions in his biographical notes on Lillo, he became a close friend of Alejandro Escobar y Carvallo who was one of the main figures in the early history of the Chilean anarchism. (90) Jobet has described Escobar y Carvallo in these terms: "one of the most important leaders in the origins of the national workers' movement ... a magnificent journalist ... the various popular periodicals at the turn of the century published his articles." (91) Besides, many of the writers who frequented the tertulias and other gatherings organised by Lillo's brother Samuel, had become anarchist sympathisers to varying degrees. Fernando Alegría has pointed out that, by the end of the nineteenth century, the social thought of the most forward-looking intellectuals in Chile was abundantly nourished



by the political and economic theories of European anarchism.(92) Some of Lillo's friends, particularly those who originally encouraged him to write "La Compuerta No. 12" when he had recently arrived in Santiago, (Augusto D'Halmar, Ortiz de Zárate, Manuel Magallanes Moure and Fernando Santiván) became in 1906 members and sympathisers of the "Tolstoyan Colony" organised in 1906 in San Bernardo, where Lillo lived. The Colony was an attempt to put anarchist ideals into practice. In Alegría's words, "they wanted to live the humble inspired existence of peasants, contributing to the commonweal, doing charity and caring for those in need."(93) Lillo's anarchist friend Alejandro Escobar y Carvallo was a prominent member of another Tolstoyan Colony, organised by workers and intellectuals in Santiago.

Despite his personal links with those idealist anarchists, Lillo himself did not become involved with the colonies. The reason might be, as Alegría explained, that the colonists were unable to discern the nature of their social mission and "failed to link their generous feelings to the immediate problems of the Chilean people"(94) The "Tolstoyan Colonies" failed because of lack of resources and persecution by the authorities. The most obstinate members, Santiván and D'Halmar, were the last to abandon the experiment "in the midst of the upheavals produced by the earthquake of 1906, less beguiled, wiser and infinitely more human."(95)

Thus far, despite his links with more obviously political figures, Lillo can be seen as maintaining, during the early 1900s, an attitude of scepticism towards social movements and

their leaders. For a time, however, it appeared that this attitude of relative disengagement was about to undergo a change of the most radical kind. Lillo seems to have realized that the Iquique strike in 1907 was something more profound than the riots of 1903-5 in Santiago and Valparaíso. This time it was a mass movement of organised workers that shook the whole system and Lillo felt that it was his duty to put his pen at the service of this movement. With this purpose in mind, he set about informing himself of the conditions of the nitrate workers, and made plans to write a novel which he wished to call La Huelga. Perhaps he viewed the nitrate workers as authentic proletarians who were neither burdened by an immediate rural inheritance of submissiveness nor affected by the purely riotous and unreflecting behaviour of afuerinos and the followers of anarchism. It is interesting to note that, in order to get more information about the nitrate miners, he did not go to the union leaders but to Pedro Godoy, a young sociologist who was in a better position to explain the "transformation undergone by a peasant who emigrates to the nitrate pampa."(96)

This change in Lillo's perception of the working class is also reflected in the various drafts of the first chapter of his proposed novel. Olave, the protagonist of his novel, is a linotype compositor and a "paladín de las nuevas ideas de reivindicaciones obreras" whom "la influencia del medio, la lectura de ciertos libros y el contacto con ciertas compañías hicieron de él un anarquista furibundo. Sin embargo, muy pronto su espíritu observador y equilibrado reaccionó, y comenzó a ver

cuanto había de falso y utópico en ciertas teorías."(97) In his unfinished novel, Lillo sees the social movements in Santiago and Valparaíso as "the beginning" ("el movimiento inicial") of the workers' struggle. In his view, a higher stage of social protest was developing in the nitrate region where "las frecuentes huelgas de trabajadores tenían preocupado al gobierno".(98) Perhaps these words reflect a change in Lillo's own perception of the social struggle and explain his previous lack of commitment towards the movements of protest. The new character of the struggle in the north appealed more forcibly to his consciousness and he now felt a sense of responsibility towards labouring men.

In their respective biographical sketches of Lillo, González Vera and Fernando Alegría recount the enthusiasm with which he began to write his novel. Why, then was it left unfinished? They say that it was both because of his bereavement (his sister Filomena, his brother Emilio and his mother died in succession during 1908-9), and his poor health. It is possible to put forward another likely reason. In some part at least the failure to complete La Huelga can be attributed to the influence of historical facts upon Lillo's perception of the social conflict.

One major factor which has to be considered is the atmosphere of disillusion that prevailed in the aftermath of the nitrate strike of 1907. Lillo's enthusiasm had been prompted by the upsurge of political agitation, strikes and hectic activity of labour unions during 1905-07. The future seemed auspicious for the unions when they began to send their representatives to

Congress, publish new periodicals and gain thousands of new affiliates. After the nitrate strike, however, the situation changed dramatically.(99)

The sombre period between 1908 and 1918 was also marked by repression and violence designed to annihilate the labour movement. It was not, in the event, annihilated. But the cumulative effect of this experience on a sympathizer with the workers' cause whose sympathies had never yet led him to an overt political identification can well be imagined. Lillo's ephemeral passion and enthusiasm expressed in his only attempt at writing a partisan novel was perhaps a victim of the repressive atmosphere.

According to the usual meaning attributed to the concept, Lillo was not, therefore, a revolutionary writer. Nevertheless, a writer could be a revolutionary in two senses. He could either join those social forces which aimed for the radical transformation of society, or he could also radically challenge the predominant ideas and practices within his own particular discipline. Insofar as he was the first writer to incorporate the working class into Chilean literature, Lillo was more of a revolutionary in the latter sense.

## CONCLUSION

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We began our study by looking at the way in which Lillo's short stories were received by his contemporary critics. Attacked by many and praised by some, the real Lillo was somewhere between these extremes. The controversial reception given to his work has not been helpful in providing a true assessment of Lillo's role within Latin American literature but, on the contrary, it has greatly obscured the real issues that lay behind a writer and his work during the crucial period of transition at the turn of the nineteenth century in Chile. Our basic aim was to focus the literary analysis of Lillo's work against two interrelated historical backgrounds. The first was related to the way in which contemporary tendencies such as Realism, Naturalism and Modernismo influenced Lillo's short stories and the second was an assessment of the impact of Lillo's own society upon his work.

Realism, Naturalism and Modernismo developed firm roots in Latin America and permeated the literary production of most Chilean writers in whose number Lillo was also counted. Indeed, Lillo was a writer sufficiently alert to be aware of those contemporary tendencies that would enhance his capacity to give expression to his subject-matter, resorting to all the literary tools that were within his reach. Realism and Naturalism were literary tendencies that had emerged in Europe at a stage of social and economic development that was similar to that of Chile at the turn of the century and were useful tools to depict the

malaise of a society in crisis. It was for this reason that Lillo's short stories absorbed a balanced Realist and Naturalist influence to the extent that was required to convey his portrayal of the Chilean society at a crucial juncture, when the traditional structure inherited from colonial times was in crisis and a more modern and capitalistic society was emerging in its place. As to Modernismo, although it was also present in his short stories and, indeed, it added elegance to his prose, its bearing upon Lillo's writing was more restricted mainly because it was a tendency that did not suit his subject-matter. Our research shows that although these three tendencies had some bearing upon Lillo's work, there was another perhaps stronger influence that emerged from the rich popular culture of Chile's mines, farms and emergent cities, a reality of which Lillo had first hand experience. Here lies the specificity of Lillo's role as a writer, because his main merit, universally acknowledged, consisted of representing the real spirit of his times by introducing characters and themes that were an accurate reflection of life in the mines, the haciendas and the emerging urban centres in the troubled years of the turn of the century. In Lillo's times there were also some writers who felt a certain commitment towards the miners, the proletarians and the poor in general but, unlike Lillo, they were unable to grasp the essence of life in misery. The crucial difference between Lillo and his contemporaries<sup>or</sup> was that whereas most writers at times abandoned their pedestal and condescended to write about the rustic and the poor urban dweller, Lillo was himself one of the poor who undertook the unfashionable mission of expressing in a literary

way the real aspects of life of those whom he met in his wanderings throughout the length and breadth of Chile.

Insofar as Lillo was trying to become faithful to the reality he wanted to depict in his work, he was also unable to understand more fully the total dimension of a society in crisis. Hence his frustrated attempt at writing a novel about the nitrate workers and their struggle for social justice. Borrowing from George Lukacs, it can be said that the disconnection between the various components of a society in crisis and transition imposed upon Lillo's literary intent its "Not Yet" condition. The literary counterpart to a society in transition is the representation of the various fragments resulting from the rupture of old society together with the genesis of those elements that would constitute the new society. Lillo's work is a reflection of that society in transition and it provides the elements of the new one. The peasant, the miner and the urban proletariat are the new elements that Lillo introduced into Latin American literature as the pivots of a new society still to come.

# NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

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1. Antonio de Undurraga, 28 cuentistas del siglo XX (Santiago, 1962) p. 19
2. Mariano Latorre, Antología de cuentistas chilenos (Santiago, 1938) p. xv
3. Miguel Serrano, Antología del verdadero cuento en Chile (Santiago, 1938) p. vi
4. See Augusto D'Halmar, "Subterra, Cuadros mineros por Baldomero Lillo", in La Lira Chilena, 2 October 1904; Mario Osses "Esquema de una disertación sobre Baldomero Lillo y Federico Gana", in La Nación, 4 October 1954 and Hernán Díaz Arrieta, "Los Libros. Antología de Baldomero Lillo hecha por Nicomedes, in Zig Zag No. 2655, 11 November 1956
5. Matilde Brandau, "Subterra", in El Chileno, 12 December 1904
6. Quoted by Raúl Silva Castro in his prologue to Baldomero Lillo's Obras Completas (Santiago 1968), p. 18
7. Ignacio Pérez Kellenz, "Un libro noble y hermoso" in El Diario Ilustrado, 30 October 1904
8. Among the critics that greeted with praised the appearance of Lillo's Subterra in 1904 there were Bórquez Solar ("Subterra", in La Ley, 17 September 1904) and Humberto Vargas ("Subterra", in La Ley, 4 October 1904)
9. J.S. González Vera, prologue to Subsole, 1931 ed., p.210
10. Raúl (pseud.), "Un hombre camina por las calles" in El Siglo, 31 August 1972
11. Andrés Sabella, "Literatura y trabajo" in El Mercurio de Antofagasta, 19 March 1979
12. During March and April 1979 almost all Chilean newspapers and periodicals carried articles concerning this polemic. The most representative articles are: Andrés Sabella, "Literatura y trabajo", in El Mercurio de Antofagasta, 19 March 1979; "Sabella desata una polémica", a leader published also in El Mercurio de Antofagasta, 28 March 1979; Sociedad de Escritores de Chile (SECH), "Subterra de Baldomero Lillo", in Ercilla, 23 March 1979; Carlos Ducci, "Subterra de Baldomero Lillo. Respuesta.", in Ercilla, 11 April 1979; "SECH protesta por alteración de novela (sic) de Baldomero Lillo", reported in La Tercera, 30 March 1979; Alfonso Calderón, "El texto misterioso", in Hoy, 18 April 1979 and "Obras de Baldomero Lillo y Huidobro en serie literaria", in El Mercurio de Valparaíso, 29 April, 1979.



NOTES TO CHAPTER I

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1. See John Fein, "Modernismo in Chilean literature", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Caroline, 1965, p. 13
2. This topic is discussed at greater length in Chapter IV.
3. See Samuel Lillo, Espejo del Pasado (Santiago, 1947), p. 153
4. John Fein, Op. Cit., p. 31
5. Samuel Lillo, Op. Cit., p. 165
6. José Santos González Vera, Biographical Appendix to the 3rd edition of Baldomero Lillo's Subsole (Santiago, 1931), p. 212. For this and further bibliographical references to Lillo's works, see Appendix I of this thesis.
7. G. P. Stern, On Realism (London, 1973), p. 75
8. See Seymour Menton, El cuento hispanoamericano (México, 1965)
9. John M. Fein, Op. Cit. p. 24
10. Armando Donoso, Los nuevos (Valencia, 1913), p. 31
11. J. Fein, Op. Cit. p. 30
12. *Ibidem*, *passim*. See also Antonio de Undurraga, Carlos Pezoa Véliz, (Santiago, 1951)
13. Alegría once commented that Blest Gana "quería ser el Balzac chileno". See Fernando Alegría, Breve historia de la novela hispanoamericana (México, 1966), p. 54. See also Carlos Hamilton, Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana (New York, 1960), p. 159
14. Adolf Ramírez, "The Chilean novel of social protest", unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1956, p. 34
15. See Yerko Moretic and Carlos Orellana, El nuevo cuento realista chileno (Santiago, 1962), p. 18
16. Fernando Alegría, Op. Cit., p. 105
17. See Vicente Urbistondo, El naturalismo en la novela chilena (Santiago, 1966). On p. 101 Urbistondo states that Edwards Bello began his career as a reporter for the daily La Nación.
18. Adolf Ramírez, Op. Cit., pp. 37-38

19. As a child Maxim Gorky (1868-1936) lived in extreme poverty, working as a labourer in several places in Russia (see Kam Alexander, Maxim Gorky and his Russia, London, 1932). At twenty-four he began his literary career with Nakar Chudra (1892), a collection of Romantic legends and allegories of little more than documentary interest. Gorky, lacking formal education, forced himself to learn speech, writing and spelling. It was "Chelkash" (1895), a short story, that brought Gorky fame as a writer. According to Stefan Zweig in his introduction to Maxim Gorky's Selected short stories (1959), "Gorky became the pride of the proletariat and the glory of the European world." In his wanderings as a vagabond he witnessed the chaos, savagery and barbarity of pre-revolutionary Russia. In his writings he took as his starting point the portrayal of human beings uprooted and displaced from their social group by the development of capitalism. He painted the shocking picture of the brutal conditions into which the Russian working class was born and of the brutal way in which peasants and artisans were transformed into proletarians (see George Lukacs, Studies on European Realism, London, 1950, pp. 211-12). As a militant humanist he wrote in 1913 that despite the hard layer of brutality of his world, "fine human seed grows nevertheless fostering the imperishable hope of our rebirth to a brighter truly human life." (See Lukacs, Op. Cit., p. 220)
20. See V. Urbistondo, Op. Cit., p. 22
21. Quoted by Guillermo Ara in La novela naturalista en Hispanoamérica (Buenos Aires, 1965), p. 16
22. See G. Lukacs, Op. Cit., p. 85
23. Lilian Furst and Peter Skrine, Naturalism (London, 1971), p. 8
24. Harry Levin, The Gates of Horn: a study of five French Realists (New York, 1963), p. 8
25. Kessel Schwartz, A new history of Spanish American Fiction (Miami, 1972), p. 22
26. See Ernesto Montenegro, Mis contemporáneos (Santiago, 1967), p. 19
27. V. Urbistondo, Op. Cit., p. 61
28. Guillermo Ara contends that Orrego's novel can be classed as Naturalist, but he adds that "los esquemas formales se elaboran en él con intenciones a ratos satíricas, a ratos puramente testimoniales." G. Ara, Op. Cit., p. 46
29. See Urbistondo, Op. Cit., p. 52
30. Seymour Menton, for instance, has analysed "La compuerta No. 12" as a Naturalist short story in his El cuento hispanoamericano (México, 1965)

31. See K. Schwartz, Op. Cit., p. 106
32. See J. Fein, Op. Cit., p. 5. See also Max Ureña, Breve historia del Modernismo (Mexico, 1962), p. 353
33. Cabrera Guerra's newspaper La Ley published the majority of the works produced by the new generation of intellectuals.
34. See Raúl Silva Castro, Panorama literario de Chile (Santiago, 1961), p. 55
35. J. Fein, Op. Cit., p. 15
36. Ibidem
37. This topic is discussed in more detail on Chapter III.
38. See J. Fein, Op. Cit., p. 29
39. Indeed, those efforts directed towards closing the gap between rich and poor sometimes were carried out in a very idealistic fashion, as was the case with the "Tolstoyan Colony" organized by some writers in Chile. See Chapter III.
40. J. Fein, Op. Cit., p. 24
41. See Antonio de Undurraga, Pezoa Véliz (Santiago, 1951), *passim*
42. See E. Montenegro, Op. Cit., p. 93. Victor Domingo Silva was another poet who wrote with a more genuine commitment to social justice. See also Max Ureña, Breve historia del Modernismo (México, 1962), p. 362
43. This subject is given further consideration in Chapter III devoted to the analysis of Lillo's stories.
44. It could be said, however, that most of these writers did express a non-committal sympathy towards anarchism.
45. See, for instance, in the case of Chile, the novel by Eduardo Barrios Un Perdido, and in Venezuela, Díaz Rodríguez's Idolos Muertos.
46. Usually, at the end of the day, the family would gather and either father, mother or, most frequently, grandmother, would bring the only source of indoor light - a dim candle - and would read out to the expectant audience submerged in the shadows, the contents of the latest instalment of the folletín, probably borrowed from neighbours and likely to be handed over, in due course, to other members of the reading chain. This custom was preserved even within living tradition in this century and progressively died out probably because of the advent of primary education, electricity and a greater availability of reading material which transformed this social event into a more personal experience. The above custom was vividly described in the 1960s to the author by an octogenarian

lady, Doña Alejandrina González, in Santiago de Chile.

47. Juan Ignacio Ferreras, La novela por entregas, 1840-1900 (Madrid, 1972), p. 11.
48. Ibidem, p. 12
49. According to Alegría, Folletines were "pedestres, engorrosos, melodramáticos (que) llenan miles de páginas con una burda imitación de lances leídos en Dumas, Sue, Feral, Fernández y González, etc." See F. Alegría, Breve historia... Op. Cit., p. 53
50. Domingo Amunátegui Solar, Bosquejo histórico de la literatura chilena (Santiago, 1925), p. 241
51. See also Alfred Coester, Literary history of Latin America (New York, 1924), pp. 228-33
52. J.I. Ferreras, Op. Cit., p. 313
53. Julio Caro Baroja, Ensayo sobre la literatura de cordel (Madrid, 1968), p. 19
54. Julio Vicuña Cifuentes, Romances populares y vulgares (Santiago, 1912), p. xxi
55. Samuel Lillo, Literatura Chilena (Santiago, 1920), p. 34. The "payador" is a poet prepared to hold a contest with another colleague by means of improvised verses called "payas".
56. Diego Muñoz, Brito, poeta popular nortino (Santiago, 1946), p.34
57. Diego Muñoz, Poesía popular chilena (Santiago, 1972), *passim*
58. Baldomero Lillo, Relatos Populares (Santiago, edition of 1942), p. 234
59. Ibidem, p 213
60. Javier Pérez's poem, called "Los sucesos del domingo; muertos y heridos" is included in Diego Muñoz, Poesía Popular..., Op. Cit.
61. This is also included in Diego Muñoz's Op. Cit.
62. In the same selection by Diego Muñoz quoted in the preceding note there are a good number of poems dealing with political elections, such as "El candidato presidencial" (favouring Balmaceda, 1886-91); "El patriotismo de los constitucionales y las consecuencias de la revolución" and "La situación en Chile", (both against President Jorge Montt, 1891-95)
63. See Chapter III
64. See Julio Vicuña Cifuentes, Mitos y supersticiones. Estudios del

folklore chileno recogido de la tradición oral (Santiago, 1947), *passim*.

65. Oreste Plath, Op. Cit., pp. 163-133
66. Lillo's story "La compuerta No. 12" provides a clear example. In this story the boy Pablo is "la medroza bestezuela"; his father works "revolviéndose como reptil en la estrecha labor", and the population in the mine are an "harapiento rebaño" or "polluelos... que corren lanzando pitíos". This use of zoological imagery is very common in the language of rural people in Chile.
67. In Lillo's Relatos Populares, Op. Cit. (See Appendix I)
68. "Juan Fariña", in Lillo's Subterra, pp. 114-15
69. This is also a theme present in Spanish folklore. In Chile, the numerous stories of Pedro Urdemales refer to the pitiful Devil who is always conned by Urdemales. There is a compilation of these traditions in Antonio Acevedo Hernández, Pedro Urdemales (Santiago, 1947)
70. B. Lillo, Subterra, (Santiago, 1975 edition), p. 119
71. B. Lillo, Relatos Populares, p. 222
72. The expression "roto chileno" has a jingoistic connotation because it originated in the context of a war against Perú and Bolivia during the late 1830s. It was used by the ruling classes to praise the heroism of the Chilean labourer fighting in the battlefields.
73. See O. Plath, Op. Cit., p. 9
74. Barreiro Fernández, Los gallegos (Madrid, 1976), *passim*.
75. Ibidem.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

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1. Baldomero Lillo, Obras Completas (edited by Raúl Silva Castro, Santiago, 1968) p. 8.
2. Samuel Lillo, Espejo del Pasado (Santiago, 1947), p.34.
3. It is interesting to note that two of Baldomero's younger brothers developed an interest in literature. Samuel was a successful poet, lawyer and teacher, and Emilio was a dentist who also wrote some short stories. Emilio died at the early age of 37 whereas Samuel lived for more than 88 years.
4. Samuel Lillo, Op. Cit. p. 17. Thomas Mayne Reid (1818-1883) spent an adventurous life in the U.S.A. between 1840 and 1849 and served in the Mexican war in 1847; published The rifle rangers (1850) and from that time until his death continued to write romances and tales of adventures which attained great popularity among boys.
5. El Siglo, 6 June 1954. Cited by Raúl Silva Castro in his introduction to Baldomero Lillo's Obras Completas (Santiago, 1961), p. 94.
6. Samuel Lillo, Op. Cit., p. 17.
7. See Silva Castro, Op. Cit., p. 7. It is not clear however if Don José actually knew this book. Ruth Sedgwick and Jose González Vera, together with other critics, suggest that it was Baldomero himself who bought the book in Concepción where he was sent by his employer from the "Pulpería La Quincena".
8. Samuel Lillo, Op. Cit., pp. 94-95.
9. The fourth and youngest brother, Eduardo, had died at a very early age.
10. El Siglo, 6 June 1954. In R. Silva Castro, Op. Cit. p. 96.
11. Among those intellectuals were the poets Diego Dublé Urrutia, Carlos Pezoa Véliz, Manuel Magallanes Moure, Antonio Silva Solar, Ernesto Guzmán and the prose writers Augusto D'Halmar, Guillermo Labarca, Federico Gana and others.
12. The sonnet was published in the Revista Cómica and shows little poetical merit. Armando Donoso ironically commented: "Con este atentado lírico, que para su mayor honra paso desapercibido, nació al mundo de las letras el autor de Sub Terra" (See Armando Donoso, Los Nuevos, Valencia 1912, p.36)
13. See Ibidem, p. 36. It is also mentioned by Daniel de la Vega in

Zig Zag, 11 January 1913.

14. El Siglo, 6 June, 1954.
15. Revista Católica, No. 15, August 1903, pp.150-51. Quoted by Raúl Silva Castro, Op. Cit. p. 12. This story was published in Revista Católica with an explanatory note on the origin of the legend. It referred to a mining settlement called "Puchoco Délano" which was flooded during the night of a 19th September in mysterious circumstances.
16. Ernesto Montenegro, Mis Contemporáneos, (Santiago, 1967) p.19.
17. Ibidem, pp. 19-20.
18. Ibidem, p. 20
19. See Charles De Shazo, "Urban Workers and Labour Unions in Chile, 1902-1907." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1977, p.196
20. Ruth Sedgwick, Baldomero Lillo, Short Story Writer, Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1936, p.6. Sedgwick's description of the outline for the novel is taken from Lillo's paper on the living conditions in the nitrate regions. See Baldomero Lillo, "El Obrero Chileno en la Pampa Salitrera", in R. Silva Castro, Op. Cit. pp.402-409. The same outline is also sketched by José Santos González Vera in his "Baldomero Lillo", published as an appendix to the second edition of Subsole (Santiago, 1931), p. 218.
21. J.S. González Vera, Op. Cit. p. 219 and R. Silva Castro, Op. Cit., p. 24.
22. The doctors were Octavio Maira, Roberto del Río, Luis Cruchaga and César Martínez. See R. Silva Castro, Op. Cit., p.30.
23. El Mercurio, 28 September, 1941.
24. Rafael Maluenda Labarca in La Ley, 12 November 1904.
25. See the second part of Chapter I.
26. "Allí estaba todo el personal de las distintas faenas, desde el anciano capataz hasta el portero de ocho años". In B. Lillo, Subterra (Santiago 1975), p. 61
27. See Chapter IV.
28. Baldomero Lillo, Subterra (Santiago, 1975), p. 77
29. Ibidem, p. 9
30. See Chapter III

31. According to O'Connor, this is one characteristic of the short story; cf. Chapter III.
32. See Joseph B. Harrison, Bret Harte (New York, 1941), *passim*
33. "Los Inválidos", in B. Lillo, Subterra, (Santiago, 1975) p. 7.
34. "La Compuerta No. 12". In B. Lillo, Ibidem, p.21
35. "La corrida" is a train of carts loaded with minerals and pulled by horses along the track
36. "La Huelga", in B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p.423
37. "El Grisú", in B. Lillo, Subterra, p. 29
38. "El Pago", Ibidem, p. 56.
39. "La Huelga", in B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p. 413
40. "La Compuerta No. 12", in B. Lillo, Subterra, p. 59.
41. "El Pago", ibidem, p.59
42. "El Chiflón del Diablo", in B. Lillo, ibidem, p.74.
43. Ibidem, p. 76
44. "La Huelga", in B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p.417
45. "El Grisú", in Subterra, p. 47
46. "El Chiflón del Diablo", Ibidem, p. 78
47. "El Pago", Ibidem, p. 62
48. "El Grisú", Ibidem, p. 41
49. See George Lukacs, Solzhenitsyn (London, 1970), p. 7.
50. B. Lillo, Subsole (Santiago, 1959 Edition) p.73
51. Frederick Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (London, 1907), p. 6.
52. B. Lillo, Relatos Populares, (Santiago, 1942) p.23
53. "La Carga", in B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p.441
54. "Víspera de Difuntos", in B. Lillo, Subsole, p. 33
55. "La Cruz de Salomón", in B. Lillo, Relatos Populares, p.217



56. B. Lillo, Subsole, p. 45.
57. "El Angelito", in B. Lillo, Relatos Populares, p. 130.
58. George Lukacs, Solzhenitsyn, Ed. Cit., p. 7
59. According to Lukacs, "the novella (short story) frequently appears either as a precursor to a conquest of reality by the great epic and dramatic forms, or as a rearguard, a termination at the end of a period, that is, it appears either in the phase of a Not-Yet in the artistically universal mastery of the given social world, or in the phase of the No-Longer" (Ibidem, p. 7)
60. Frank O'Connor, The lonely voice (London, 1963), p. 18
61. This matter is discussed further in Chapter IV.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER III

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1. See Carlos Foresti's "La tensión en un cuento de Baldomero Lillo" in Atenea No. 374, 1957, pp. 78-82 and Julio Durán's "Un comentario estilístico sobre 'El Chiflón del Diablo' in Atenea No. 386, 1959, pp. 108-136
2. Rene Wellek and Agustin Warren, Theory of literature (London, 1963) and Frank O'Connor, The lonely voice (London, 1965)
3. Raúl Silva Castro, Panorama literario de Chile (Santiago, 1961), p. 346
4. See Seymour Menton, El cuento hispanoamericano (México, 1964), p. 8
5. Juan Bosch, "La forma en el cuento", in Revista Nacional de Cultura, XXIII, p. 43 (cited by Sister Philip Mary Reilly, "The development of the short story in Chile." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1972, p. 2)
6. For an account of short-story writing in Chile, see Instituto de Literatura Chilena, Antología del cuento chileno (Santiago, 1956). See also Sister Philip Mary Reilly, Op. Cit., passim
7. See George Lukacs, Studies on European Realism (London, 1950), pp. 211-212
8. See Bryan Leonard Franklin, "The ontological and existentialist theological symbolism of Baldomero Lillo's Subsole". Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1969, p. 96, and Frank O'Connor, Op. Cit., p. 58
9. One of the best examples in Lillo's usage of flashbacks can be found in his story "El registro".
10. Baldomero Lillo, Subterra, (Santiago, 1975 edition), p. 71
11. Ibidem, p. 129
12. B. Lillo, Subsole, ed. cit., p. 31
13. Ibidem, p. 68
14. Carlos Foresti, in his analysis of "Sobre el abismo", mentions how Lillo suggests the ending of his story: "Hay aquí dos modos de construcción temporal que a su vez marcan dos partes en el relato. La primera plantea el contenido argumental y su motivo, y la otra es un dilatado desenlace cuya justificación ha sido preparada desde las primeras líneas." Foresti, Op. Cit.

15. B. Lillo, Subsole, Ed. Cit., p. 34
16. B. Lillo, Obras Completas (compiled by Raúl Silva Castro), (Santiago, 1968), p. 144
17. See Chapter I above.
18. Rafael Lapesa, Introducción a los estudios literarios (Madrid, 1975), p. 53
19. Andrés Sabella, Article published in El Mercurio, 16 October 1968.
20. Volodia Teitelboim in "Escritores opinan sobre Baldomero Lillo"; El Siglo, 4 July 1954.
21. Lautaro Yankas, "Literatura chilena de contenido social" in Atenea No. 119, 1941, p. 125
22. Fernando Alegría, Literatura chilena del siglo XX (Santiago, 1967), p. 158
23. Mariano Latorre in "Escritores opinan sobre Baldomero Lillo", El Siglo, 4 July, 1954.
24. Armando Donoso, Los nuevos (Valencia, 1912), p. 37
25. Hernan Díaz Arrieta, Historia personal de la literatura chilena (Santiago, 1954), p. 255
26. B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p. 437
27. B. Lillo, Subterra, Ed. Cit., p.67
28. See Chapter I where Naturalist determinism is discussed at greater length
29. Gustavo Correa, Realidad y símbolos en las novelas de Benito Pérez Galdós (Madrid, 1917), p. 11
30. Lorenzo Campana, "Vigencia de Baldomero Lillo", La Nación, 13 October 1957. See also Carlos Droguett, "Baldomero Lillo o el hombre devorado", also in La Nación, 12 March 1961
31. B. Lillo, Subterra, Ed. Cit., p. 87
32. Ibidem, p. 80
33. Ibidem, p. 19
34. Baldomero Lillo, Relatos Populares (Santiago, 1942), p. 48

35. Lorenzo Campana, Op. Cit., passim
36. Ruth Sedgwick points to the similarities between the two writers, stating that "parece que Lillo ve las minas chilenas por los ojos de su maestro francés." See her "Baldomero Lillo y Emile Zola" in Revista Iberoamericana, VII, February 1944, pp. 321-28. Donald F. Brown also considered Lillo as a follower of Zola's naturalism. See his article "Germinal progeny" in Hispania No. 51, 1968, pp. 424-432
37. Donald Brown, Op. Cit., p. 424
38. Seymour Menton, Op. Cit., p. 150
39. B. Lillo, Subterra, Ed. Cit., passim. (Ergastulum was a prison for slaves used in Ancient Rome. During the Roman Empire it was customary to treat prisoners of war as slaves. They were generally sold to slave traders who followed the army during military expeditions. The traders kept the slaves in dungeons or "ergastula". Sisyphus, in Greek mythology, was the cunning King of Corinth who was punished in Hades by being made repeatedly to roll up a hill a huge stone which always rolled down again as soon as he had brought it to the summit. These two images taken from classical Rome and Greece are also used very frequently in Modernista prose and poetry)
40. B. Lillo, Subterra, (La Habana, 1972), prologue by Ricardo Latcham, p. xii
41. Ibidem, p. 18
42. Ibidem, p. xii
43. Ibidem, p. 18
44. Ibidem, p. 69
45. Ibidem, p. 58
46. Guillermo Ara, La novela naturalista hispanoamericana (Buenos Aires, 1965), p. 9
47. B. Lillo, Subsole, Ed. Cit., p. 53
48. Ibidem, p. 28
49. B. Lillo, Subterra, passim
50. Ibidem, p. 29
51. Ibidem, p. 82
52. Ibidem, p. 93

53. B. Lillo, Relatos Populares, p. 51
54. Ibidem, p. 230
55. According to Armando Donoso, "en Subterra ciertas descripciones adolecían de peregrinas ingenuidades que por cierto no hemos de recordar ... defectos todos que no se han de atribuir a la inexperiencia sino que más bien a cierto ficticio idealismo apostólico suyo." (See A. Donoso, Op. Cit., p. 55)
56. According to John Walker, "la crítica ha tenido la tendencia a subrayar la importancia de Lillo como escritor comprometido con las masas. En este trabajo quisiéramos señalar la significación de Lillo como artista, capaz de escribir cuentos creativos y obras imaginativas dignas de ubicarlo al lado de sus contemporáneos." (See Walker's article "Baldomero Lillo ¿modernista comprometido?" in Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, 1974, No. 283, p. 132.)
57. Walker's article is referred to in the preceding note. Victor Valenzuela's study, "Baldomero Lillo and Modernism" is published in Hispania, XXXIX, March, 1956, pp. 89-91.
58. B. Lillo, Subsole, Ed. Cit., passim
59. Ibidem, p. 14
60. Ibidem, p. 53
61. Rubén Darío, Azul (Madrid, 1947), p. 63
62. B. Lillo, Subsole, Ed. Cit., p. 53
63. Rubén Darío, Op. Cit., p. 44
64. B. Lillo, Subsole, p. 52
65. Rubén Darío, Op. Cit., p. 33
66. B. Lillo, Subsole, Op. Cit., p. 20
67. B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p. 422
68. B. Lillo, Subterra ("Los inválidos"), p. 9. This paragraph was withdrawn by Lillo in the second edition.
69. Ibidem, p. 68
70. Ibidem, p. 69
71. B. Lillo, Subsole, p. 5

72. B. Lillo, Subterra, p. 28
73. In John Walker's words, "desde este punto de vista, los poemas en prosa de Lillo prefiguran los poemas humanos de Vallejo y Neruda, es decir, literatura a la vez comprometida." J. Walker, Op. Cit., p. 137
74. B. Lillo, Subterra, p. 21
75. Kessel Schwartz, A new history of Spanish American fiction, (Miami, 1972), p. 144
76. José Manuel Mínguez, Antología del cuento chileno (Buenos Aires, 1970), p. 19
77. Jean Franco, The modern culture of Latin America (Oxford, 1967), p. 41
78. John M. Fein, "Modernism in Chilean Literature", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1965, pp. 11-12 and 16
79. Lillo himself, as noted elsewhere, won the 1903 prize in the competition organized by Revista Católica.
80. See Fernando Alegría, Op. Cit., pp. 171-190
81. B. Lillo, Subsole, p. 134
82. B. Lillo, Relatos Populares, p. 32
83. Luis Durán in his Siete cuentos included a short story based on the same theme but, unlike Lillo, made no attempt to explain the mystery surrounding this peasant legend. See Luis Duran, Siete cuentos (Santiago, 1950)
84. For the meaning of words such as "curandera" and "empacho" see the Glossary in our Appendix 2
85. El Mercurio, 4 February 1968
86. The latter is a short story mentioned by José S. González Vera in his Appendix to the 1932 edition of Subsole. The story has not been found.
87. B. Lillo, Subterra, p. 95
88. Ibidem, p. 35. Similar remarks are also found on p. 132 and in Subsole, p. 45.
89. According to Baquero Goyanes, "posiblemente los orígenes del cuento fantástico se hallan ligados a los del legendario tradicional, hasta el punto de que tres modalidades narrativas

- cuento popular, legendario y fantástico - pueden ser considerados como un solo género primitivo del que luego se han desgajado artificiosamente las narraciones legendarias y las fantásticas". See Mariano Baquero Goyanes, El cuento español en el siglo XIX (Madrid, 1949), p. 236

90. Yerko Moretic and Carlos Orellana, El nuevo cuento realista (Santiago, 1962), p. 29
91. B. Lillo, Relatos populares, p. 55.
92. Quoted by Luis Ignacio Silva Arriagada in La novela de Chile (Santiago, 1910), p. 374. With regard to Lillo's relationship with his pueblo, it is worth mentioning in passing the opinion of one of his friends:- "(Subterra) era la primera obra de creación artística en que se trataba con competencia un aspecto de nuestro mundo industrial. De consiguiente, el obrero pudo leer con interés y respeto una obra que retrataba sus afanes sin recurrir a la desfiguración melodramática para disimular la ignorancia de los pormenores del oficio... Por primera vez la alpargata y la blusa hicieron la caminata hacia las librerías del centro para volver cargando debajo del brazo una obra de un autor nacional." (See Ernesto Montenegro, Mis contemporáneos, Santiago, 1967, p. 20)
93. Jean Franco, Op. Cit., pp. 42-3
94. See "Tolstoyanos chilenos" in Fernando Alegría, Op. Cit., pp. 171-190.
95. Ernesto Montenegro, Op. Cit., p. 40.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

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1. See Sergio Sepúlveda, El Trigo Chileno en el Mercado Mundial, (Santiago, 1959)
2. See Luis Ortega, "Acerca de los orígenes de la industrialización chilena, 1860-1879", in Nueva Historia, Vol. I No.2, 1981
3. For a discussion of the impact of nitrates see M.A. Fernández, "El enclave salitrero y la economía chilena, 1880-1914" in Nueva Historia, Vol. I No.3, 1981
4. Claudio Véliz, "La mesa de tres patas" in Hernán Godoy Urzúa, Estructura social de Chile, (Santiago, 1971), p.231
5. For a brief period, between 1895 and 1898, Chile returned to the Gold Standard.
6. A. MacLeish, Chile. Quoted by Julio Cesar Jobet, Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico-social de Chile, (Santiago, 1955), p.120
7. W.H. Young, A merry banker in the Far East and South America, (London, 1916), p. 275
8. Julio Heise, Historia de Chile. El Período Parlamentario, (Santiago, 1974), p.394
9. See Aníbal Pinto Santa Cruz, Chile, un caso de desarrollo frustrado, (Santiago, 1959) pp.74-5. Pinto Santa Cruz, quoting Samuel Valdés Vicuña, adds that "in order to match the new building, all wares had to be imported from France. Even the modest calash pulled by a servant-mounted mule was changed for a coach from Paris drawn by two horses and driven by a coachman who wore clothes which were more luxurious than those of his master himself." (p.75) Heise adds that "well-to-do Chileans, at the begining of the twentieth century, paid between 6,000 and 10,000 pesos for the privilege of holding the key of a box at the Opera Theatre for one season." 6,000 or 10,000 pesos were enough to pay the annual wage of 6 to 10 industrial workers at that time. (see J. Heise, Op. Cit., p. 167)
10. Luis Orrego Luco, in his novel Casa Grande, vividly depicts the life of the Chilean bourgeoisie. Joaquín Edwards Bello, in his Criollos en París, illustrates their lifestyle as expatriates in France.
11. Alejandro Venegas, Chile íntimo en 1910 (Quoted by Hernán



- Godoy Urzúa, Op. Cit., p.293)
12. J. Heise, Op. Cit., pp. 171-2
  13. Chile, Censo de Población de 1907 (Santiago, 1909)
  14. Peter de Shazo has discussed at some length the economic conditions of the working class. See his "Urban workers and labor unions in Chile 1902-1927". Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1977, pp. 54-65. See also Marcelo Segall, "Biografía social de la ficha salario", in Mapocho, Vol. 11 No.2, 1964, pp. 98-130
  15. Cited by P. de Shazo, Op. Cit., p. 55
  16. Nicolás Palacios, Raza Chilena. Quoted by J.C. Jobet, Op. Cit., pp. 132-33
  17. P. de Shazo, Op. Cit., p. 121
  18. Luis Emilio Recabarren, "Ricos y Pobres". Quoted by Godoy Urzúa, Op. Cit., p. 301
  19. Horace Rumbold, General conditions of Chile in 1874. Parliamentary Papers, [C.1551], p. 365
  20. P. de Shazo, Op. Cit., p. 117
  21. Quoted by Hernan Ramírez Necochea in Historia del Movimiento Obrero (Santiago, 1955), p. 125
  22. J. Heise, Op. Cit., p. 398
  23. See César de Leon, "Las capas medias en la sociedad chilena del siglo XIX", in Anales de la Universidad de Chile No. 132, Oct.-Dec., 1964.
  24. J. Heise, Op. Cit., pp. 396-8
  25. J. Cesar Jobet, Op. Cit., p. 148
  26. Charles Darwin, Diary of the voyage of H.M.S. Beagle, (Cambridge, 1934) pp. 286-87. (Cited by Roland E. Duncan, "Chilean coal and British steamers: the origins of a South American industry" in Mariner's Mirror, Vol. LXI, 1975, p.276
  27. For an account of the origins of the coal industry, see R.E. Duncan's article cited in the previous note.
  28. Walter Feldwick, ed., Commercial Encyclopedia. South America. (London, 1924), p. 936.
  29. George Mills, Chile (London, 1914), p. 155

30. Patrick E. Breslin, "The development of class consciousness in the Chilean working class". Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1980, p. 95
31. R. Nelson Boyd, Sketches of Chili and the Chilians during the war, (London, 1881), pp. 12-13
32. W. Feldwick, ed., Op. Cit., p. 936
33. Agapito (Pseudonym), "Don Matías y Don Baldomero", in El Clarín, Santiago, 7 January, 1971
34. Simón Blanco, "Baldomero Lillo y la voz de los mineros del carbón", in El Siglo, 5 Feb. 1967
35. Ibidem
36. Samuel Lillo interviewed by El Siglo, 6 June, 1954
37. H. Ramírez Necochea, Op. Cit., p. 111
38. Baldomero Lillo, "El Pago", in Subterra, (1975 Edition), p.67
39. G.F. Scott Elliot, Chile (London, 1909), p. 268
40. We have referred to this problem in our discussion of Lillo's thematic approach. See chapter II
41. Eugenio Chouteau, "Informe sobre la provincia de Coquimbo presentado al Supremo Gobierno", Santiago, 1887, p. 87. (Cited by Ramírez Necochea, Op. Cit., p. 121)
42. Charles Darwin, The Voyage of the Beagle (1968 edition, London), p. 341
43. José Joaquín Vallejo (Pseud. "Jotabeche"), "Mineral de Chañarcillo" in Obras, (Santiago, 1911), pp. 66-67. (Cited by Ramírez Necochea, Op. Cit., pp. 105-6)
44. José P. Angulo, "Una excursión a Lota", published in El Lota, 9 Sep. 1876. (Cited by Ramírez Necochea, Op. Cit., pp.103-4)
45. Baldomero Lillo, "El Alma de la Máquina", in Subsole, p.89
46. Leonidas García, "Estado actual de las minas de carbón fósil de Lota y Lotilla, en la provincia de Concepción", in Anales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. XIX, 1861. (Cited by Ramírez Necochea, Op. Cit., p. 102)
47. Baldomero Lillo, "El Pago", in Subterra (1975 edition, Santiago), p. 59

48. E. Chouteau, Op. Cit., p. 159. See also Memoria del Intendente de Concepción al Ministerio del Interior, 1866 (both cited by Ramírez Necochea, Op.Cit., p. 123)
49. Francisco Aracena, Apuntes de Viaje. La industria del cobre en las provincias de Atacama y Coquimbo y los grandes y valiosos depósitos carbóníferos de Lota y Coronel en la provincia de Concepción. (Santiago, 1894), pp. 259-260.
50. W. Feldwick, ed., Op. Cit., p. 936
51. For an account of the "inquilinaje system", see Mario Góngora, Origen de los inquilinos de Chile Central, (Santiago, 1960)
52. Claudio Gay, Historia física y política de Chile, Paris, 1871 (Cited by Luis Vitale in Interpretación marxista de la historia de Chile, Vol. III, p. 196)
53. See Cristóbal Kay, El sistema señorial europeo y la hacienda latinoamericana, (México, 1980), p. 44
54. Gabriel Salazar, "El movimiento teórico sobre desarrollo y dependencia en Chile, 1950-1975", in Nueva Historia, Vol. I, No.4, London, April, 1982
55. B. Lillo, Relatos Populares, (Santiago, 1942), p. 171
56. See Baldomero Lillo, "La mano pegada" in Antología de Baldomero Lillo, (compiled by Nicomedes Guzmán, Santiago, 1955) p.246
57. Ibidem, p. 251
58. In Baldomero Lillo, Obras Completas, p. 478-79
59. For an account of what was called "La Pacificación de la Araucanía", see Horacio Lara, Crónica de la Araucanía, 2 Vol., (Santiago, 1889) and Tomás Guevara, Historia de la Civilización de la Araucanía, 3 Vol., (Santiago, 1903)
60. Baldomero Lillo, "La cruz de Salomón", in Antología, pp. 150-54
61. See Tomás Guevara, Op. Cit. and Horacio Lara, Op. Cit. See also Leonardo Leon, "Alianzas militares entre los indios araucanos y los grupos de indios de las Pampas: La rebelión araucana de 1867-1872 en Argentina y Chile", in Nueva Historia, Vol. I No.1, 1981
62. Baldomero Lillo, "Quilapán", in Antología, p.122
63. Ibidem, p. 121
64. G.F. Scott Elliot, Op. Cit., pp. 293-94

65. Cited by Fernando Casanueva and Manuel Fernández, El Partido Socialista y la lucha de clases en Chile, (Santiago, 1973), p. 44
66. See Cristóbal Kay, "Comparative development of the European manorial system and the Latin American hacienda system". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sussex, 1971, p.110
67. Carlos Hurtado, Concentración de población y desarrollo económico: El caso chileno, (Santiago, 1966), Table 4, p.146
68. The following table is a comparison of rates of population growth at inter-census periods in Chile which reflect the remarkable increase in urban population during the second half of the nineteenth century.

ANNUAL RATES OF POPULATION GROWTH IN CHILE, 1865-1907

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(Rates per thousand inhabitants)

Period	Urban Population	Rural Population	Total Population
-----	-----	-----	-----
1865-75	3.5	.8	1.4
1875-85	3.3	1.5	1.9
1885-95	2.8	.0	.7
1895-07	3.2	1.1	1.5
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Source: Derived from Carlos Hurtado, Concentración de Población y Desarrollo Económico: El Caso Chileno, (Santiago, 1966), Table 2, p. 144.

69. Peter de Shazo, Op. Cit. pp.137-38
70. Cited by P. de Shazo, Ibidem, p. 139
71. See particularly "Carlitos" and "En el conventillo"
72. James O. Morris, "La cuestión social", in Hernán Godoy, Op. Cit., p. 251
73. Julio César Jobet, Luis Emilio Recabarren. Los orígenes del movimiento obrero y del socialismo chileno, (Santiago, 1955), pp. 113-117
74. Baldomero Lillo, Obras Completas, pp. 440-41
75. J.O. Morris, Op. Cit., pp. 260-61. See also Luis Vitale, Op. Cit., Vol. V, pp. 47-8 and Guillermo Kaempffer Villagrán, Así sucedió, (Santiago, 1962), *passim*

76. J. C. Jobet, Luis Emilio Recabarren... , Op. Cit., p. 112
77. De Shazo, Op. Cit., p. 189
78. J. C. Jobet, Luis Emilio Recabarren..., Op. Cit., p. 84
79. Casanueva and Fernández, Op. Cit., mention the following newspapers- La Voz del Pueblo (1896), El Proletario (1898), El Rebelde (1898), La Tromba ("semanario de sociología, ciencias, artes, filosofía y socialismo", 1898), La Campana, El Acrata, La Agitación, El Socialista and several others in the provinces (p. 52)
80. Thomas Kirkup, A history of socialism, (London, 1892), p.191
81. On the Partido Democrático, see F. Casanueva and M. Fernández, Op. Cit., p. 48-9
82. Indeed, it would be fair to say that this conflict still persists.
83. See P. de Shazo, Op. Cit., passim, and Jorge Barriá Serón, Los movimientos sociales a principios de siglo, 1900-1910, (Santiago, 1953)
84. Baldomero Lillo, "El Chiflón del Diablo", in Subterra, (1975 edition, Santiago), p. 83
85. Luis Vitale, Op. Cit, Vol. 3, pp. 280-82
86. P. de Shazo, Op. Cit. p. 96
87. Paragraph taken from Subterra, 19th edition (Santiago, 1975) which is a reprint of the 1st edition of 1904. Lillo amended this paragraph in the second edition (1917) by deleting large portions of the miner's speech.
88. Ibidem, p. 8
89. B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p. 441
90. See José Santos González Vera, Appendix to the 2nd edition of Subsole, (Santiago, 1931), p. 212
91. J. Cesar Jobet, Ensayo Crítico ..., Op. Cit. p. 94
92. Fernando Alegría, Las fronteras del Realismo, (Santiago, 1962), pp. 47-8
93. Ibidem, p. 56
94. Ibidem, p. 62

95. Ibidem, p. 66. Fernando Santiván himself gave a detailed account of the "Colonia Tolstoiana" in his Memoria de un Tolstoiano (Santiago, 1955)
96. See González Vera, Op. Cit., p. 219
97. B. Lillo, Obras Completas, p 424
98. Ibidem, p. 425
99. The following table can give an indication of this change:

CHILE. MAJOR STRIKES DURING 1901-1918

=====					
1901	5	1907	80	1913	27
1902	21	1908	15	1914	8
1903	17	1909	5	1915	7
1904	11	1910	3	1916	21
1905	23	1911	8	1917	18
1906	48	1912	26	1918	18

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 Source:- Manuel Barrera, "Perspectiva Histórica de la  
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A P P E N D I X I

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Revista Cómica, February, 1898
- "Caza Mayor"  
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Revista Católica, No. 3, 1903
- "La Compuerta No. 12"  
Chile Ilustrado, III, June, 1904
- Subterra, Cuadros Mineros  
Imprenta Moderna, Santiago, 1904
- "El Calabozo No. 5"  
Panthesis, No. 1, 1905
- "El Oro"  
Zig Zag, No. 72, 1906
- "Tienda y Trastienda"  
El Mercurio, 14, 22 and 24 December, 1906
- "En la Rueda"  
Zig Zag, No. 97, 1906
- "Subsole"  
Veladas del Ateneo, Santiago, 1906
- "Sobre el Abismo"  
Veladas del Ateneo, Santiago, 1906
- "Relatos Populares: La Cruz de Salomón"  
El Mercurio, 1 January, 1907
- "Relatos Populares: Sobre el Abismo"  
El Mercurio, 19 January, 1907
- "Mis Vecinos"  
El Mercurio, 25-30 January, 1907
- "Cambiadores"  
El Mercurio, 5 February, 1907

- "Las Nieves Eternas"  
Zig Zag, No. 112, 14 April, 1907
- "La Barrena"  
Zig Zag, No. 123, 30 June, 1907
- "La Chascuda"  
Zig Zag, No. 127, 28 July, 1907
- "El Ahogado"  
Zig Zag, No. 131, 25 August, 1907
- "El Rapto del Sol"  
Zig Zag No. 132, 1 September, 1907
- "Cañuela y Petaca"  
Zig Zag, No. 139, 20 October, 1907
- "La Propina"  
Zig Zag, No. 141, 3 November, 1907
- "El Registro"  
Zig Zag, No. 145, 1 December, 1907
- Subsole  
Editorial Universitaria, Santiago, 1907
- "Sobre el Abismo"  
Zig Zag, 19 April, 1908
- "Malvavisco"  
Zig Zag, No. 169, 17 May, 1908
- "La Ballena"  
Zig Zag, No. 199, 13 December, 1908
- "La Zambullón"  
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- "Subsole"  
La Mañana, 28 February, 1913
- Subterra\*  
With an Introduction by Armando Donoso,  
Editorial Chilena, Santiago, 1917
- "En el Conventillo"  
Pacífico Magazine, No. 58, October, 1917.
- "El Anillo"  
El Mercurio, 24 February, 1918

- "Las Niñas"  
Pacífico Magazine, No. 69, September, 1918
- "El Perfil"  
Zig Zag, No. 728, 1 February, 1919
- "Carlitos"  
Pacífico Magazine, No. 76, April, 1919
- "El Hallazgo"  
Zig Zag, No. 757, 23 August, 1919
- "La Trampa"  
Zig Zag, No. 765, 18 October, 1919
- "Pesquisa Trágica"  
Zig Zag, No. 767, 1 November, 1919
- "El Angelito"  
Zig Zag, No. 796, 22 May, 1920
- "Subsole"  
La Información, February, 1929
- "La Trampa"  
EL Mercurio, 22 September, 1929
- "La Huelga" (1st Chapter)  
Claridad, 30 December, 1931
- Subsole  
With and Introduction and a bibliographic  
appendix by José Santos González Vera.  
2nd Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1931
- Subterra  
2nd Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1931
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- Relatos Populares  
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Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1942
- Subsole  
3rd Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1943
- Subterra  
4th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1943
- Subsole  
4th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1948

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5th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1951

Subsole  
5th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1952

Subterra  
6th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1953

"La Huelga" (2 chapters)  
Viento Sur, No. 1, July, 1954

Subterra  
7th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1954

Antología de Baldomero Lillo  
Prologued by Nicomedes Guzmán. Published to  
commemorate the 50th anniversary of the  
publication of Subterra.  
Editorial Zig Zag, Santiago, 1955

El Hallazgo y otros Cuentos del Mar  
Prologued by José Zamudio.  
Editorial Ercilla, Santiago, 1956

Subsole  
6th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1956

Subterra  
9th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1958

Subsole  
7th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1959

The Devil's Pit and other Stories  
Translation by Esther Dillon and Angel Flores,  
introduction by Fernando Alegría.  
Pan American Union, Washington, 1959

Subterra  
10th Edition, Editorial Nascimento, Santiago,  
1960

Subsole  
8th Ed., Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1962

Pesquisa Trágica. Cuentos Olvidados  
Prologue by José Zamudio.  
Ediciones Luis Rivano, Santiago, 1963

Subterra  
11th Ed., Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1963

Subsole

10th Ed., Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1966

Obras Completas

Introduction, bibliography and notes by  
Raúl Silva Castro.  
Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1968

Relatos Populares

Prologue by Mario Rodríguez Fernández.  
Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1971

El Chiflón del Diablo y otros Cuentos

Editorial Quimantú, Santiago, 1972

Subterra

Introduction by Ricardo Latcham.  
Casa de las Américas, Havana, 1972

Subterra

18th Ed., Editorial Nascimento, Santiago, 1975

Subterra

19th Ed., Editorial Andrés Bello, Santiago, 1978

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\* This was the second edition of Subterra. The editors of the 1931 edition, however, claimed that theirs was the 2nd edition. To avoid confusion we have given no edition number to the Subterra edition of 1917.

A P P E N D I X    II  
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GLOSSARY OF POPULAR CHILEAN TERMS USED BY BALDOMERO LILLO  
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(The title of the short story where the term occurs is given in brackets)

Ají ("La Barrena")	= Chili pepper
A revienta cinchas ("La Cruz de Salomón")	= At full gallop
Atajar la recua ("El Grisú")	= To make a pause, to calm oneself
Auto ("Mis Vecinos")	= Deformation of the word "acto" (act)
Alpargatas ("El Pozo")	= espadrille or hemp sandals
Auto medonte ("La Propina")	= Coachman
Boldos ("El Registro")	= A Chilean bush, the leaves of which are used to cure liver diseases
Bóquiles ("La Chascuda")	= A type of Chilean creeper the stem of which is used for making baskets
Cabeza de Cobre ("El Chiflón del Diablo")	= Red-haired
Cachetes ("En el Conventillo")	= Small punches or slaps
Cachucho ("El Ahogado")	= Small boat with square bottom
Camorrista ("Pesquisa Trágica")	= Quarrelsome
Cañuela ("Cañuela y Petaca")	= A small piece of wood around which the string or cord is wound when flying a kite.

Chalupas ("El Ahogado")	= punt
Chamal ("Quilapán")	= Shawl of a Mapuche Indian
Chanchas ("El Pozo")	= Female pigs
Chapa ("Subsole")	= Shellfish of Southern Chile
Cháquira ("El Hallazgo")	= Small beads of glass. Lillo uses the word to describe the eyes of a girl
Chicotera ("El Vagabundo")	= whip
Chascuda ("La Chascuda")	= Death. Lillo uses the word as a name for a ghost
Chiflón ("El Chiflón del Diablo")	= Narrow horizontal gallery in a mine
Chincol ("Cañuela y Petaca")	= A small bird similar to the European sparrow
Chingar ("Cañuela y Petaca")	= To frustrate or thwart
Chispa ("El Angelito")	= Ingenuity; wit. A nickname used by Lillo for an ingenious man
Chuca ("El Angelito")	= A Chilean bird. Lillo uses the term to name one of his characters who whistles like the chuca
Chupalla ("Malvavisco")	= A straw hat with wide brim worn by peasants
Coligüe ("Quilapán")	= A long, thin and flexible pole similar to bamboo. It is used in rural buildings.
Conventillo ("En el Conventillo" and "Las Niñas")	= An urban slum building consisting of single-room dwellings facing an interior courtyard with a single door on the street.



Corretear ("Quilapán")	= To harass, to run out (e.g. of town)
Costurones ("Carlitos")	= Scars
Coyunda ("La Trampa")	= Strap
Cuatrero ("El Angelito")	= Cattle rustler
Cuchufleta ("El Grisú")	= Witty remark
Curandera ("En el Conventillo")	= Healer
Dar rebencazos ("Quilapán")	= To whip
Dicharachos ("Sobre el Abismo")	= Sayings
Diucas ("Caza Mayor")	= Mapuche word. A native singing bird
Echar las cuentas ("La Ballena")	= To figure out
Empacho ("Carlitos")	= Constipation
Emperrar ("Quilapán")	= To be obstinate or to persist in something
En un santiamén ("La Cruz de Salomón")	= In an instant
Fonda ("El Caliche")	= A canteen or bar; according to Lillo, the Northern miners drink beer there to slake their thirst
Gallinas ("En la Rueda")	= Cowards
Gresca ("La Cruz de Salomón")	= Fight
Guapetón ("La Cruz de Salomón")	= Bully

Guasca ("La Chascuda")	= Quechua word. Leather belt used as rein or whip
Guarapón ("Malvavisco")	= A wide-brimmed hat worn when working in the fields
Guarén ("Inamible")	= A rodent larger than a rat. Lillo uses it as a nickname
Güiro ("El Hallazgo")	= A common name for various types of seaweed
Guaguas ("La Barrena")	= Babies
Hombradas ("En el Conventillo")	= Trades or tasks to be performed by men
Huasos ("Quilapán")	= Rural types of Central Chile
Inamible ("Inamible")	= A word created by Lillo to refer to animals which frighten people
Julepe ("La Barrena")	= Fear or fright
Ladino ("La Cruz de Salomón")	= Ingenious and sly person
Lámparas ("En la Rueda")	= Eyes
Lingües ("El Angelito")	= Mapuche word. A Chilean tree the bark of which is used in tanning. Its wood is valuable because of its durability and elasticity
Litres ("El Registro")	= A Chilean tree whose leaves can cause rashes on the skin when touched
Loicas ("Malvavisco" and "Cañuela y Petaca")	= Mapuche word. A Chilean bird of dark grey colour with small white patches
Luche ("Subsole" and "El Ahogado")	= Quechua word. An edible seaweed
Mal de ojo ("Carlitos")	= The fascination caused by looking at a person - child, animal or

*inanimate object - as long as it is beautiful. The fascination is the result of admiration and, at times, of envy*

- Malvavisco*  
(*"Malvavisco"*) = *A plant with white flower whose roots have medicinal use. Lillo uses the word as a nickname.*
- Maquis*  
*"El Angelito", "El Registro" and "Quilapán"*) = *A Chilean bush which produces a round, purple, edible fruit*
- Menear la pata (sin)*  
(*"La Barrena"*) = *To faint*
- Nadita*  
(*"En el Conventillo"*) = *Nothing, very little*
- No recular carta* = *Not to yield. To drive on whatever the odds*
- Paico*  
(*"El Vagabundo" and "La Mano Pegada"*) = *A Chilean bush with an aromatic smell. The leaves and flowers are used in an infusion similar to tea. Lillo uses the word as a nickname*
- Palomo*  
(*"Caza Mayor"*) = *A quiet unassuming person*
- Palurdo*  
(*"Malvavisco"*) = *Rough, rude, brash*
- Papirotas*  
(*"La Barreta"*) = *A flip or flick of the hand*
- Parihuela*  
(*"La Chascuda"*) = *A narrow bed or stretcher used to move the sick*
- Pataguas*  
(*"La Chascuda"*) = *A very tall tree of Southern Chile*
- Pelar*  
(*"En la Rueda"*) = *To die*
- Petaca*  
(*"Cañuela y Petaca"*) = *A cigarette or tobacco case. In Chile it means "lazy".*
- Perro*  
(*"Quilapán"*) = *A stubborn man*

Picanear ("En el Conventillo")	= To goad with a long pole having an iron point
Pillán ("Quilapán")	= Name that Araucanians give to a superior force (Devil, thunder). In the story it is the name of the dog
Picarón ("Inamible")	= A person of a light-hearted temperament. Cheeky.
Pidén ("Quilapán")	= Mapuche word. A bird similar to the coot. It lives in muddy areas
Pollina ("Mis Vecinos")	= Young female donkey
Ponche ("El Angelito")	= Drink made by mixing wine and fruits
Quilas ("La Chascuda")	= Mapuche word. The name for various types of high, leafy trees
Ramada ("La Cruz de Salomón")	= Makeshift canopy or marquee under which national festivities are celebrated. In rural districts the various stages of the harvest are also celebrated in ramadas
Roto ("En el Conventillo")	= A person of humble social status. Sometimes synonymous with a brave, tough and enterprising man
Sobarnos las costillas ("El Vagabundo")	= To laugh
Soltar el trapo ("El Vagabundo")	= To laugh
Sayas ("El Pozo")	= Skirts of coarse cloth
Taca ("Subsole")	= Edible shelfish
Taitita ("En el Conventillo")	= A child's word applied to the father or other people who merit respect
Tallándole	= Courting or flirting
Tragonas	= Bad manners, rude.

*("En el Conventillo")*

Tenca  
*("Cañuela y Petaca")*

= *A bird similar to the skylark,  
famous for its song*

Trompa  
*("Pesquisa Trágica")*

= *Mouth. Also an inversion of the  
word Patron (boss). Lillo uses  
it as a nickname*

Tullida  
*("En el Conventillo")*

= *Crippled*

Tutti (*Hacer un tutti*)  
*("Pesquisa Trágica")*

= *Electoral fraud by hiding the  
register. To gerrymander*

Vaqueano  
*("En la Pampa")*

= *Knowledgeable, expert in the  
field*

Viento Negro  
*("El Grisú")*

= *Name used by the miners for  
firedamp. Lillo uses it as  
a nickname*

Zarabanda  
*("El Remolque")*

= *Dance or entertainment of  
Indians and blacks. Lillo  
uses the word to describe  
the stormy sea.*

APPENDIX III

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PHOTOGRAPHS. LILLO AND LOTA

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- PHOTOGRAPH 1      Lillo shortly after his arrival in Santiago  
=====      (c. 1900. Reproduced from Zig Zag, 11 January  
1913)
- PHOTOGRAPH 2      Coal seams of Lota mine  
=====      (c. 1920. From Walter Feldwick, editor,  
Commercial Encyclopedia: South America,  
London, 1924, p. 935)
- PHOTOGRAPH 3      Lota coal miners  
=====      (c. 1920. Feldwick, p. 935)
- PHOTOGRAPH 4      Loading pier in Lota with the park and palace  
=====      of the Cousiño family in the background.  
(c. 1920. Feldwick, p. 934)
- PHOTOGRAPH 5      Plant of Buen Retiro mine where Baldomero Lillo  
=====      worked at the grocer's shop [Pulpería]. (c. 1920.  
Feldwick, p. 934)











